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JULY MEETING.

The Society held its stated monthly meeting on Thursday, July 13, at eleven o'clock, A.M.; the President in the chair.

The Librarian announced donations from the City of Boston; the American Antiquarian Society; the Essex Institute; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the Long-Island Historical Society; the Mercantile Library Association of Brooklyn, N.Y.; the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History; the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association of Cincinnati; the Proprietors of the Heraldic Journal; John Appleton, M.D.; George E. Chambers, Esq.; Henry B. Dawson, Esq.; John F. Eliot, Esq.; Charles M. Ellis, Esq.; Charles R. Lowell, Esq.; Edward B. O'Callaghan, M.D.; Hon. Alexander H. Rice; Mrs. Samuel A. Smith; Hon. Henry Wilson; and from Messrs. C. Brooks, Deane, Folsom, Metcalf, and Winthrop, of the Society.

George Bemis was elected a Resident Member.

The President stated that he had received a letter from M. Mignet, Perpetual Secretary of the Imperial Institute of France, acknowledging the receipt of this Society's last-issued volume of the Collections and that of the Proceedings.

The President also referred to a circular letter which had been received by the Society, containing an acknowledgment from Goldwin Smith to Henry T. Tuckerman, Esq., for the books Mr. Smith had received from America; and stating that he had obtained permission to

place the volumes in the new library of University College, Oxford, where they will occupy a range of shelves by themselves. He adds, "They will remain my property while I live; . . . and at my death they will pass to the College."

An application from Ralph D. Smith, of Guilford, Conn., to copy an agreement between William Leet and Edward Jones, in a volume of "Letters and Papers," 1632 to 1638, fol. 5 and 18, was laid before the Society; and leave was granted under the rules.

The President called the attention of members to a parcel of letters and papers lying upon the table, consisting of two MS. letter-books and fifty-seven original letters from the "Barrell Papers,"—a gift of J. Francis Fisher, Esq., to the Society. Many of the letters belonging to this collection were written by John Andrews, of Boston, from 1772 to 1776, embracing the period of the "Siege of Boston," and have been in course of preparation by Mr. Winthrop Sargent, of New York, for publication in the Proceedings of this Society. The letters received were forwarded to the Society by Mr. Sargent, who says, in a communication addressed to the Recording Secretary, that he retains a portion of the letters belonging to this same lot, to compare in correcting proof; that, "when that is done, they shall also be forwarded to the Society. The copy of the Andrews Letters and a brief preface and some notes are also in the parcel."

LETTERS

OF

JOHN ANDREWS, ESQ., OF BOSTON.*

1772-1776.

Compiled and edited from the original MSS. by WINTHROP SARGENT.

INTRODUCTION.

DURING the year 1859, Captain George Gibson, jun., of the United-States Army, being stationed at the United-States arsenal on the Schuylkill, Philadelphia, discovered a number of

* The attention of the President of this Society was called to these Andrews letters in September, 1864, by the following communication:—

(Copy.)

RESIDENCE OF MR. GEO. BARNARD,

LYNN, Massachusetts, Sept. 17th, 1864.

DEAR SIR,— At the request of my friend, Mr. Barnard, I take the liberty of addressing you in relation to some correspondence discovered by me in a garret room at Schuylkill Arsenal, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, during the year 1859.

It consisted of a quantity of letters, written by one Joseph Andrews, of Boston, to William Barrell, a merchant of Philadelphia, describing the arrival and occupation of the former city by the British; the daily street-fights that took place between the citizens and the soldiery; the primary meeting and destruction of the tea in the harbor by the inhabitants, dressed as Indians; the battles at Lexington and Breed's Hill; in fact, many circumstances not known to history, and of which the writer was an eyewitness. Being a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, I mentioned the existence of these papers to Joshua Francis Fisher, Esq., our Vice-President, who resides on Walnut Street, between Ninth and Tenth, Philadelphia. At his request, I placed them in his possession, he being desirous of having them annotated by an aged member of the Society, Mr. Samuel Breck (since deceased), who claimed in some way to be connected with the writer, Joseph Andrews. Shortly after this, I was ordered to Washington; consequently am unable to say whether any thing was done in the matter or not.

My impression now is that they should more appropriately belong to the Historical Society of Massachusetts; and I have every reason to believe that Mr. Fisher would gladly place them in the possession of its members upon being written to.

I have the honor to be, dear sir,

with great respect, your obedient servant,

GEO. GIBSON,

Captain 11th U. S. Regular Infantry.

Hon. R. C. WINTHROP,

President of the Historical Society of Massachusetts.

papers relating to the affairs of Mr. William Barrell, formerly a merchant in that city. These papers consisted chiefly of letters addressed to Mr. Barrell, by members of his family, shortly previous to, and about the period of, the breaking-out of the war of the Revolution; and of two letter-books of Mr. Barrell himself, and of Stephen Collins, his administrator, extending from May 3, 1771, to July 30, 1783. When or why they were left here, I have no means of ascertaining; but it was probably, in the first instance, merely to keep them together in a place of security, where afterwards they remained undisturbed, because forgotten.

Captain Gibson handed over these documents to Mr. J. Francis Fisher, of Philadelphia, a Corresponding Member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who at once recognized the propriety of their being placed among the archives of that body. And it is at his suggestion that the preparation for publication of a selection of the most suitable parts of their contents has been undertaken by me; while the whole collection, as it came to his hands, is presented by him to the Society.

The only connected and really interesting series of letters, among those now before me, consists of communications addressed to Mr. Barrell by his brother-in-law, Mr. John Andrews of Boston; and such portion of this correspondence as does not seem to turn entirely on family matters or details of business I have here set forth. I may be mistaken; but, in my humble judgment, the pages now printed will be found to possess a piquancy of style, a freedom of expression, and a discrimination in the narration of such particulars of local history that a Bostonian residing away from Boston would naturally be glad to procure, yet could not expect to find in the public journals of the day, that will amply repay the perusal of the historical student. The form in which they are here presented by me (somewhat in that of a journal) recommended itself not only by its conveniency, but by the

reason that in his later and larger communications it was adopted by Mr. Andrews himself, some of whose letters were thus carried on from day to day, until weeks had elapsed between their commencement and their conclusion.

Of the merits of the correspondence I think very highly. There is little of the same description and period that is more readable. That they were not written with the faintest idea of publication is palpably evident; and their language, therefore, while animated and unrestrained, is sometimes frank, and perhaps careless. But a good letter may well be characterized by such traits. The style and method of spelling, too, that they present, was that of the age; and differs no more from the standard of our own period, than ours will probably differ from that of 1960.

Of William Barrell himself, to whom these letters were addressed, the following particulars are gleaned from the letter-books and other documents in question. He was the son of John Barrell, who in 1778 appears to have been dwelling at London. Of his brothers, there were Joseph, Theodore, and Colborn. There were also two sisters, — Ruthy, married to John Andrews, Esq., of Boston; and another married to Samuel Eliot. Mr. William Barrell seems to have married a sister of John Langdon, Esq., of New Hampshire, in which Colony (at Portsmouth) he was so early as 1766 engaged in business. Even at this period, he was an uncompromising opponent of those acts of the British ministry that finally culminated in producing revolution. On the 14th of April, 1766, he received "the joyful news of the repeal of the *cursed Stamp Act*. God grant we may soon have it confirmed, and that all the cursed projectors thereof may meet that just infamy and disgrace which is due to every enemy of his country!" About October, 1774, he was established in business at Philadelphia by the house of Amory and Taylor, of Boston. The undertaking does not seem to have been very successful, and was terminated by his death on the 31st of

August, 1776. His administrator, Stephen Collins, naïvely writes of this event to Mr. William Langdon: "He did not seem to have any expectations of being near his end, though he had his senses to the last, or nearly so, having never made any mention of a future state during his illness." In his life he had not only been a warm Whig in opinion and words, but seems to have been, at one time at least, in arms for the American cause; and, when the British occupied Philadelphia, there appears to have been some attempt made by them to get at the effects he had left behind him. These were estimated at about £500 or £600 sterling in value. They were appraised at £5,719 currency after the English had left Philadelphia, and were sold for about £10,000 currency.

When these letters were first placed in Mr. Fisher's hands, he very naturally submitted them to the examination of the late venerable Samuel Breck, Esq., — a nephew of Mr. John Andrews, — who at once recognized them as the productions of his uncle, whom he had formerly known and still remembered. Mr. Breck urged their preservation in some suitable form of publication; and, with his wonted kindness, communicated several facts explanatory of circumstances connected with them: —

"Benjamin Andrews," he said, "alluded to in the letter of April 11, 1776, was the elder brother of John. Shortly after this date, my uncle Benjamin was writing in his parlor on some business, preparatory to a journey into the country the next day. His friend Benjamin Hitchborn, a lawyer of eminence, sat near the chimney, preparing for use a pair of pistols, — without which, in those days, no one ventured to travel, — when, by some awkward turn, the pistol which he held in his hand exploded, and killed Andrews on the spot. The very melancholy event was supposed to be accidental; and Hitchborn, who married my widowed aunt, took the best possible care of her children by Andrews, whom he educated and established in life with true parental affection.

"Mr. Breck, so frequently mentioned, was my father, and brother-in-law of John Andrews. During that period of trouble and danger,

he removed from Boston temporarily, and brought his wife and two children (myself, the eldest, and the late Mrs. James Lloyd) to Philadelphia. On his return to Boston in the autumn of 1775, he resumed his commercial pursuits, and was appointed agent for the supply of the numerous ships-of-war of the King of France that visited Boston after our treaty of alliance. He was for many years in succession a member of the Legislature from Boston; and, after his removal to Philadelphia in 1792, was elected a Director of the first Bank of the United States, in which capacity he was associated with that institution until its dissolution in 1809. He was likewise appointed one of the commissioners, under Washington's administration, for settling the claims of citizens of the United States on Spain.

"Robert Hallowell was one of the chief officers in the custom-house at Boston under the British Crown. He was the neighbor and friend of my uncle's family. He returned to England, of course, with the British army; but after the peace of 1783 he came again to America, and settled or founded the town in the State of Maine that bears his name.

"George Erving, who is mentioned the 18th May, 1774, was the father or uncle of the American minister Erving, whom President Jefferson sent to Madrid.

"Samuel Adams is so well known in history that I will briefly note here what I recollect of him. His residence in Winter Street, Boston, was within a few doors of my father's house, and of course I saw him frequently. His habits in dress and manners were modest and plain. Not being rich, he did not associate with the higher circle, such as Hancock, Bowdoin, Higginson, the Russells, and, I may add, my father; yet was always honored by the respectful attention of the public, who elected him to the high station of Governor after the death of Hancock."

To the recollections of a member of this Society,* who also speaks of what he has himself seen, I am indebted for some further observations. Such passages possess in my eyes a peculiar and original value. They are the few remaining links which connect us of the present day with the characters of the Revolution. Of all who knew, or even looked upon,

* Mr. Lucius Manlius Sargent.

the great men of that period, comparatively few now remain among us; and any thing that they can relate of their personal knowledge of bygone scenes and circumstances in our history cannot but be interesting:—

“I remember John Andrews, his trim dress, and white-top boots, and powdered hair. He was small of stature. When I knew him, he occupied a beautiful estate at the northerly corner of Winter and Tremont (then Common) Streets,—an antique wooden house in the midst of a delightful garden, extending down Winter Street, and in rear to what is now Hamilton Place. This house was once occupied by Sir Francis Bernard, probably till the year of his recall, 1769. My mother once pointed out to me the chamber she occupied when she made a visit to the Bernards. At a later period, this estate was occupied by Earl Percy.

“In the first Boston directory ever published (1789) is this entry: ‘Breck, Samuel, Esq., Merchant, Common Street.’

“He is the gentleman named above, and was then the owner of this house. He complained of Boston taxes, and, removing to Philadelphia, sold the estate to John Andrews. . . .

“In the letter of April 11, 1776, not long after the evacuation, Mr. Andrews speaks of entertaining General Washington, &c., at dinner. Mr. Andrews then lived, as his son Henry Andrews tells me, in School Street, in a house occupied afterwards by Dr. John Warren, brother of Joseph, and father of the late John C. Warren, M.D. That house, as I well recollect, stood next above Joshua Brackett’s tavern, at the sign of Cromwell’s Head, upon the site where Palmer’s fruit-shop now stands.”

Referring to this entertainment of General Washington, Mr. Breck says:—

“The last time I saw my uncle in Boston, when he was eighty years old, he related with pride this fact to me.”

Mr. Andrews was elected a selectman of Boston in 1785, and continued in that office until 1790, when he declined to serve longer.

It only remains for me to add, that such passages of the correspondence as have been considered rather too free-spoken

in regard to domestic events, and therefore as being liable to give pain to persons now living, have not been here printed, but remain nevertheless unexpunged in the original manuscripts themselves in the possession of the Society.

CORRESPONDENCE.

February 24th, 1772. . . . An unhappy affair happen'd here last Saturday. The Gunner and the Captain's Clerk of the Beaver were drinking together at Admiral Vernon's Tavern ; being warm'd with liquor they quarrell'd, when y^e former stabb'd y^e latter with a stiletto, which has so injur'd his lungs that his life is despair'd of. The Gunner was immediately committed to jail. . . . Doctor Cooper's Congregation have at last concluded to pull down their own Cathedral, and build as grand a house as our native materials will admit of. They have computed it to cost about 7 or £8000 sterling, subscriptions for which are gave very generously. John Hancock, who suffers no body to outdoe him in acts of publick utility, has generously gave £1000 lawful money towards so necessary a work : Mr. Bowdoin, £200 : Pitts, Erving, J. Gray, £100 sterling each, and others in proportion.

September 3rd. Yesterday died old Justice Ruddock, y^e most corpulent man among us, weighing, they say, between 5 and 600 weight.

December 25th. . . . Yesterday your aunt Anna spent the day with us, and I like her much ; more especially as she has promised to rummage up and make me a present of an ancient roman coin (one of the twelve Cæsars) which will make me possess'd of five of that kind, besides a variety of more modern ones, having lately made an acquisition of one of Claudius Cæsar's and another of Domitian's ; and this day bought for old silver a fine large medal of y^e Emperor Constantine y^e great's. I mention this, that in case any of the kind *that are genuine* should come within your knowledge, you would, if possible, procure them for me. I expect a laugh from you ; but no matter for that, every one has their whims and I have mine. . . . Our season has been most remarkably fine : till last evening we have not had half an inch of snow, and then fell only about an inch and a half, and clear'd up today as warm and pleasant as in September ; and what's most remarkable, that not a day in this month but y^e Sun has shone pleasant, either half or the whole of the day.

March 15th, 1773. Our general Court have passed an act to limit

the number of four vendue masters for this town, and not more ; to be entirely at the disposal and direction of y^e Select Men : in consequence of which, many have petition'd their high mightinesses for that lucrative employment, which takes place y^e 29th instant. A very judicious act ! Likewise our very respectable Town meeting have voted to have 300 lamps properly dispos'd to light this town — a thing I have long wish'd for.

March 18th. Should not have sent the scroll, intended to have gone by Church, without transcribing, would my convenience have admitted of it.

Have enclos'd you Doctor Church's Oration delivered y^e 5th instant, as well as one deliver'd by James Lovell last year.*

I suppose you must have seen reprinted in your papers the messages passing to and from our Governor and house of Representatives respecting the most important matter of right of parliament to tax America, which have been very lengthy on both sides, frequently filling up near a whole paper. We have had an innovation here never known before — a *Drum* or *Rout* given by the Admiral last Saturday evening, which did not break up till 2 or 3 o'clock on Sunday morning, their chief amusement being playing cards.

June 4th. The minds of people are greatly agitated, on account of some original letters that have been sent from London to the general Court, that were wrote some three or four years since by the Governor and Lieutenant Governor and Auchmuty, &c., very much to the prejudice of the province, and recommending or rather urging y^e necessity of all y^e measures which have been lately taken with us : also pointing out y^e absolute necessity of taking off five or six of y^e leaders in y^e opposition, such as Otis, Adams, &c., enumerating their several names ; without which, they say, it is impracticable to accomplish their plans. The Lieutenant Governor strongly recommends (in one of his letters) his son Daniel as Secretary for y^e province. Thus much has transpired respecting them, as they are enjoin'd not to be publish'd. Am almost every minute taken off with agreeable sight of our militia companies marching into the Common, as it is a grand field day with us ; and I assure, were you to see 'em, you'd scarcely believe your eyes, they are so strangely metamorphos'd. From making the most despicable appearance they now vie with the best troops in his majesties service, being dress'd all in blue uniforms, with drums

* He should have said "the year before last." — Eds.

and fifes to each company dress'd in white uniforms trim'd in y^e most elegant manner ; with a company of Grenadiers in red with every other apparatus, that equal any regular Company I ever saw both in regard to appearance and discipline, having a grand band of musick consisting of eight that play nearly equal to that of the 64th. What crowns all is the Cadet company, being perfectly compleat and under the best order you can conceive of, with a band of musick likewise, that perform admirably well. What with these and Paddock's company of artillery make y^e compleatest militia in America ; not a drummer, fifer, and scarcely a soldier but what are in compleat uniforms and thoroughly instructed in the military exercises. In addition to all this the Town House is fitted up in the most elegant manner, with the whole of the outside painted of a stone color, which gives it a fine appearance.

November 29th. Hall and Bruce* arriv'd Saturday evening with each an hundred and odd chests of the detested Tea. What will be done with it, can't say : but I tremble for y^e consequences should y^e consignees still persist in their obstinacy and not consent to reship it. They have softened down so far as to offer it to the care of Council or the town, till such times as they hear from their friends in England, but am perswaded, from the present dispositions of y^e people, that no other alternative will do, than to have it immediately sent back to London again. . . . Y^e bells are ringing for a general muster, and a third vessel is now arriv'd in Nantasket road. Handbills are stuck up, calling upon Friends ! Citizens ! and Countrymen !

December 1st. Having just return'd from Fire Club, and am now, in company with the two Miss Masons and Mr. Williams of your place, at Sam. Eliot's, who has been dining with him at Col^o Hancock's, and acquaints me that Mr. Palfrey sets off Express for New York and Philadelphia at five o'clock tomorrow morning, to communicate y^e transactions of this town respecting the tea. . . . I acquainted you that Bruce and Hall had arrived, which was a mistake, as only Hall has arriv'd ; which has caus'd y^e most spirited and firm conduct to be observ'd that ever was known : the regularity and particulars of

* By Hall and Bruce, Mr. Andrews signifies vessels, the commanders of which bore these names. This was an idiom of these days: witness Defoe, in the Life of Captain Singleton (chapter xii.), — "We found the fellows were hearty in their resolution, and jolly brisk sailors they were; so I told them I would do nothing without our admiral, that was the captain of the other ship; so I sent my pinnace on board Captain Wilmot, to desire him to come on board," &c.

which proceedings Mr. Palfrey will be able to tell you. The consignees have all taken their residence at the Castle, as they still persist in their refusal to take the tea back. Its not only y^e town, but the country are unanimous against the landing it, and at the Monday and Tuesday Meetings, they attended to the number of some hundreds from all the neighboring towns within a dozen miles: — 'twould puzzle any person to purchase a pair of p—ls in town, as they are all bought up, with a full determination to repell force by force.

*December 18th.** However precarious our situation may be, yet *such* is the present calm composure of the people that a stranger would hardly think that ten thousand pounds sterling of the East India Company's *tea* was destroy'd the night, or rather evening before last, yet its a serious truth; and if your's, together with y^e other Southern provinces, should rest satisfied with *their* quota being stor'd, poor Boston will feel the whole weight of ministerial vengeance. However, its the opinion of most people that we stand an equal chance now, whether troops are sent in consequence of it or not; whereas, had it been stor'd, we should inevitably have had 'em, to enforce the sale of it. — The affair was transacted with the greatest regularity and despatch. Mr. Rotch finding he exposed himself not only to the loss of his ship but for y^e value of the tea in case he sent her back with it, *without a clearance from the custom house*, as y^e Admiral kept a ship in readiness to make a seizure of it whenever it should sail under *those circumstances*; therefore declin'd complying with his former promises, and absolutely declar'd his vessel should not carry it, without a *proper* clearance could be procur'd or he to be indemnified for the value of her: — when a general muster was assembled, from this and all y^e neighbouring towns, to the number of five or six thousand, at 10 o'clock Thursday morning in the Old South Meeting house, where they pass'd a *unanimous* vote that the *Tea* should go out of the *harbour* that afternoon, and sent a committee with Mr. Rotch to y^e Custom house to *demand* a clearance, which the collector told 'em was not in his power to give, without the duties being first paid. They then sent Mr. Rotch to Milton, to ask a pass from y^e Governor, who sent for answer, that "consistent with the rules of government and "his duty to the King he could not grant one without they produc'd

* The original of this letter, when first discovered at the Arsenal, bore and still bears abundant evidence of the interest which its contents must have excited in Philadelphia. It has been so thumb'd and worn, doubtless by passing from one curious hand to another, that it fairly hangs in shreds.

“a previous clearance from the office.” — By the time he return’d with this message the candles were light in [the] house, and upon reading it, such prodigious shouts were made, that induc’d me, while drinking tea at home, to go out and know the cause of it. The house was so crouded I could get no farther than y^e porch, when I found the moderator was just declaring the meeting to be *dissolv’d*, which caused another general shout, out doors and in, and three cheers. What with that, and the consequent noise of breaking up the meeting, you’d thought that the inhabitants of the infernal regions had broke loose. For my part, I went contentedly home and finish’d my tea, but was soon inform’d what was going forward: but still not crediting it without ocular demonstration, I went and was *satisfied*. They muster’d, I’m told, upon Fort Hill, to the number of about two hundred, and proceeded, two by two, to Griffin’s wharf, where Hall, Bruce, and Coffin lay, each with 114 chests of the *ill fated* article on board; the two former with *only* that article, but y^e latter arriv’d at y^e wharf only y^e day before, was freighted with a large quantity of other goods, which they took the *greatest* care not to injure in the least, and before *nine* o’clock in y^e evening, every chest from on board the three vessels was knock’d to pieces and flung over y^e sides. They say the actors were *Indians* from *Narragansett*. Whether they were or not, to a transient observer they appear’d as *such*, being cloath’d in Blankets with the heads muffled, and copper color’d countenances, being each arm’d with a hatchet or axe, and pair pistols, nor was their *dialect* different from what I conceive these geniusses to *speak*, as their jargon was unintelligible to all but themselves. Not the least insult was offer’d to any person, save one Captain Conner, a letter of horses in this place, not many years since remov’d from *dear Ireland*, who had ript up the lining of his coat and waistcoat under the arms, and watching his opportunity had nearly fill’d ’em with tea, but being detected, was handled pretty roughly. They not only stripp’d him of his cloaths, but gave him a coat of mud, with a severe bruising into the bargain; and nothing but their utter aversion to make *any* disturbance prevented his being tar’d and feather’d.

Should not have troubled you with this, by this ‘Post, hadn’t I thought you would be glad of a more particular account of so *important a transaction*, than you could have obtain’d by common report; and if it affords my brother but a *temporary* amusement, I shall be more than repaid for the trouble of writing it.

The weather as yet continues with us very mild and at the same

time very unhealthy. An inflammatory fever prevails much. This evening one of the most amiable and accomplish'd girls among us, a daughter of Henderson Inches, was incorporated with her mother earth, after only four days sickness. Such is y^e sudden transition after being seiz'd; and last Weñsday, Mrs. Johonnot, eldest daughter of Doctor Cooper, was carried to her grave. . . .

Sunday Evening. [December 19th.] I give you joy of your easy riddance of *the banefull herb*; being just inform'd by y^e arrival of the post, that it's gone from whence it came. You may bless your stars that you have not a H——n and board of Commissioners resident with you. — I forgot to acquaint you last evening that *Loring*, in a brig belonging to *Clark*, one of y^e consignees, is on shore at y^e back of Cape Cod, drove thither by a storm last Fryday week, who has the last quota of Tea for this place, being 58 chests, which compleats the 400. — Am inform'd some *Indians* were met on y^e road to Plimouth, which is almost fifty miles this side of Cape Cod. Its unlucky that *Loring* has y^e lamps on board for illuminating our streets. Am sorry if they are lost, as we shall be depriv'd of their benefit this winter in consequence of it.

April 14th, 1774. Have inclos'd you the anniversary oration deliver'd by Col: Hancock. Its generally allowed to be a good composition (and asserted to be *his own* production), both spirited and nervous. I can't myself judge of its merit, as I did not hear it deliver'd, nor have I allow'd myself time to peruse it, since its publication.

May 18th. — Imagine to yourself the horror painted in the faces of a string of slaves condemn'd by the Inquisition to perpetual drudgery at the oar! Such is the dejection imprinted on every countenance we meet in this once happy, but now totally ruin'd town. — Yes, Bill, nothing will save us but an entire stoppage of trade, both to England and the West Indies, throughout the continent: and that must be determin'd as speedily as absolutely. The least hesitancy on your part to the *Southerd*, and the matter is over; we must acknowledge and ask forgiveness for all past offences, whether we have been guilty of any or no; give up the point so long contested; and acknowledge the right of parliament to d—n us whenever they please; and to add to all this, we must pay for an article unjustly forced upon us with a sole view to pick our pockets (not that I would by any means justify the destruction of that article): when that is done, where are we? Why, in much the same situation as before, without one flattering hope of relief: entirely dependant on the will of an arbitrary Minis-

ter, who'd sacrifice the Kingdom to gratify a cursed revenge. A more convincing proof we can't have than in the present Act for blocking up our Port, which could not have been more severely and strongly express'd if all the Devils in the infernal regions had had a hand in the draughting it.

Shall endeavor to content myself to stay here till I see what turn affairs will take. If to my liking, well: if not, shall look out for some other place of residence, as I sincerely believe they intend to put their threats in execution; which is, to make the town a desolate wilderness, and the grass to grow in our streets.

Our Militia was yesterday muster'd for the reception of General Gage, who was proclaim'd Governor, amid the acclamations of the people. He express'd himself as sensible of the unwelcome errand he came upon, but as a servant of the Crown, he was obliged to see the Act put in execution: but would do all in his power to serve us. Whether they were only words of course or not, can't say; am a little doubtfull. There was an elegant entertainment provided for him at Faneuil Hall, and after a number of toasts gave by him, in which the prosperity of the town of Boston was included, he gave Governor Hutchinson, which was received by a general hiss. Such is the detestation in which that tool of tyrants is held among us.

May GAGE be both impower'd, and inclin'd to close
 The wounds now opening by our cruel foes!
 May N——h repent for his obdurate heart!
 Deep feel the stings of an avenging dart:
 And ere his *impious* wishes shall be sped,
 May he be number'd with the guilty dead!
 And while fresh lawrells shall adorn the brave,
 May noisome weeds grow thick upon his grave!
 Till his *detested* name be known no more,
 And we forget the woes we now implore!

. . . The damn'd *arch traitor*, as he is call'd, is very much chagrined at being superseded, as its only last Thursday when he gave orders for repairs to his houses in town and country, and upon y^e workman's suggestions that he would be succeeded soon, he said it was like many other reports that prevail'd, for that he had all y^e satisfaction he could wish for or expect from home, and every part of his conduct was entirely approv'd of, and left to his option whether to enjoy y^e Government or go to England. But now a guilty conscience has induc'd him to take refuge at y^e Castle. Its reported here that your Government, as well as New York, is to be chang'd

and remov'd, the one to Burlington and the other to Amboy, with requisitions made upon both, and more particularly upon Rhode Island.

May 18th. — Since mine to you of this same date, we have had advice from Salem, Newbury, etc'a., that they will haul up all their vessels, and stop every trade, provided it becomes general through the continent. At the same time, we have many among us, who are for compromising matters, and put forward a subscription to pay for the Tea. George Erving has declar'd this day, that if it should be promoted, he is ready to put down two thousand pounds sterling towards it, and will take it upon himself to wait on Governor Gage and know what his demands upon us are — which circumstance J^{no} Amory mentioned at y^e town meeting this day, which was in general rejected, though he urged the matter much.

June 12th. — If my last was in a desponding stile, I'm sure I have much more reason to be so now; as ought else than poverty and distress stares us in the face. Our committee of correspondence, not content with the calamities already come upon us, have issued out letters to every town in the province (without consulting y^e town in regard to the expediency of such a measure) accompanied with a *Solemn League and covenant*, so stil'd, for every inhabitant in each town to sign, whereby they obligate themselves by the most *sacred oaths* not to purchase any kind of goods fabricated in England, either already here, or that may be hereafter imported. Such is the *cursed* zeal that now prevails: animosities run higher than ever, each party charging the other as bringing ruin upon their country; that unless some expediency is adopted to get the Port open by paying for the tea (which seems to be the only one) am afraid we shall experience the worst of evils, *a civil war*, which God avert! — The trading part promis'd themselves a general compliance with the tenor of the Act would have been readily come into in making compensation for the Tea, after being assur'd the other provinces would not adopt y^e plan propos'd; but, instead of that, those who have govern'd the town for years past and were in a great measure the authors of all our evils, by their injudicious conduct — are grown more obstinate than ever, and seem determin'd to bring total destruction upon us: which may be sufficiently evinced by all their conduct. They not only intend to deprive us of trade in future, but render us utterly incapable of contributing that assistance which will be absolutely necessary for the support of the indigent the approaching fall and

winter, by their *cruel* endeavors to stop the *little* inland trade we expected.

Our wharfs are intirely deserted; not a topsail vessel to be seen either there or in the harbour, save the ships of war and transport, the latter of which land their passengers in this town tomorrow. Four regiments are already arriv'd, and four more are expected. How they are to be disposed of, can't say. Its gave out, that if y^e General Court don't provide barracks for 'em, they are to be quarter'd on y^e inhabitants in y^e fall: if so, am determin'd not to stay in it. The executors of the Act seem to strain points beyond what was ever intended, for they make all y^e vessels, both with grain and wood, entirely unload at Marblehead before they'll permit 'em to come in here, which conduct, in regard to y^e article of wood has already greatly enhanced the price, and the masters say they won't come at all, if they are to be always put to such trouble, as they are oblig'd to hire another vessel to unload into, and then to return it back again, as they have no wharves to admit of their landing it on. Nor will they suffer any article of merchandize to be brought or carry'd over Charles river ferry, that we are oblig'd to pay for 28 miles land carriage to get our goods from Marblehead or Salem. Could fill up a number of sheets to enumerate all our difficulties.

July 22nd. — Previous to my receiving your two favors of the 6th and 22nd June, I wrote you by Mr. Pollard of your place, when I made some observations on the solemn *League and Covenant*, which I had not then seen, as it was not known to be in being in this town (but by the few who promoted it) till near a month after it had been circulated through the country: in which time it went through whole towns with the greatest avidity, every adult of both sexes putting their names to it, saving a very few. It was sent out in printed copies by the Clerk to the Committee, W. Cooper, who accompanied it with a letter intimating that the measure was in general adopted here, whereas upon enquiry I can't find that a single person in the town has signed it—and the only excuse they now make for so absurd a piece of conduct is, that it originated altogether from the country, without any of their advice or interposition; thinking so *palpable* a falsehood will remove the just prejudices of the more rational and judicious people among us.*

* The Solemn League and Covenant here referred to was a covenant between the people in the various towns to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain.

That you may judge for yourself of the propriety of my entering my protest against their conduct in that particular, have enclos'd you the *Covenant*, with many sensible remarks upon it, together with the two protests; y^e latter of which (among y^e number of y^e respective signers, you'll observe, I have the honor to be one) is humourously call'd the *Little Pope*; the declaration following it, (wherein our reasons for a dissent are given in a more explicit manner than in the protest) should be glad you'd attend to. We don't mean to oppose any general measure that may be adopted by the Congress, but are well dispos'd in the cause of *Freedom* as any of our opponents, and would equally oppose and detest *Tyranny* exerciz'd either in England or America. For my own part, I did not expect the vote would have been put as it was; i.e., to censure and dismiss y^e Committee; but rather expected it would tend only to order them to suspend y^e *Covenant* till y^e Congress should meet. But the just resentment of the *Addressers** on hearing the letters read that were sent to your place and New York (the latter in particular) in regard to that part of their conduct, rais'd such warm emotions in their breasts, that nothing less than the committee's being annihilated would satisfy 'em. Our brother Eliot† display'd his eloquence in a long speech upon the subject, deliver'd in so masterly a stile and manner as to gain y^e plaudits of perhaps the largest assembly ever conven'd here, by an almost universal clap: wherein he deliver'd his sentiments with that freedom and manliness peculiar only to himself. He related his own particular case, as expecting a large quantity of goods which, should they arrive, he can't possibly qualify himself to sell according to the tenor of the *Covenant*, having countermanded 'em no other ways than to have 'em shipped, provided your place, with New York, Rhode Island, &c., should have their goods as usual; and from the determination of those places, he has all the reason in the world to expect them. My own case is somewhat similar to his, having countermanded my orders by the first opportunity after the Port Bill

until the obnoxious acts were repealed; to buy no goods imported after August, 1774; to break off all relations with those who should continue to import or buy such goods; and to discountenance, so far as might be, all who should not sign this covenant.

* The Addressers were one hundred and twenty-three Bostonians, supporters of Governor Hutchinson, who, on the 28th of May, 1774, presented him with a "warm, affectionate, and respectful" address, on occasion of his departure for England. One hundred and twenty-nine citizens signed the protest against the proceedings of this town meeting of June.

† Samuel Eliot, of Boston, whose wife was the sister of William Barrell and of the wife of John Andrews.

arriv'd, and of consequence acquiesced with a non-importation agreement when propos'd about three or four weeks after: but upon y^e measure not being adopted by the Southern Colonies, I embrac'd the first opportunity and re-ordered about one fourth part of such goods as I thought would be most in demand, and behold! in about three or four weeks after that, I heard of y^e amazing progress the non-consumption agreement had made through y^e country; which, in my opinion, has serv'd rather to create dissensions among ourselves than to answer any valuable purpose.

Its about a fortnight or three weeks since the talk of Government's taking up and sending home a number from this town, was matter of great speculation here, which caus'd much uneasiness among the most thinking part of the community least such a step should cause commotions that would prove fatal to the town. At present the affair seems to be blown over, though the *high* friends to Government promise themselves great things upon the arrival of the *Scarborough*, which is hourly expected with the two last Acts, compleated by the royal sanction.

Its reported for fact, both last evening and this morning, that a country team was stopped by y^e guards upon the Neck and rifled of two firelocks that they were carrying into the country. Certain I am that the Governor has order'd the Keeper of the Province's Magazine not to deliver a kernel of powder (without his express order) of either public or private property: which is attended with great inconvenience to the dealers in that article, as he is, for the most part of his time, at Salem, and a personal attendance is necessary to procure an order.

Yesterday one Harris, a baker, with two of his apprentices, were fin'd ten pounds sterling each by Benjamin Girdley, lately made a Justice of y^e Peace, for enticing and assisting a soldier to desert, by furnishing him with cloaths and carrying him 20 miles from town in a chaise. The soldier has since returned and produc'd the above sentence, which they are to comply with in four days or suffer three months imprisonment.

What will be the event of these things its impossible to say; but we promise ourselves that y^e Congress will adopt such salutary measures as may in y^e end prove efficacious to our relief as well as beneficial to y^e whole continent.

Before the sealing this I am inform'd that y^e Governor, previous to his going out of town yesterday morning deliver'd up the keys of

the Powder house to Slyde again, with liberty to deliver as usual, but not in such enormous quantities as about a month since; being inform'd that he deliver'd near two thousand barrels in y^e course of about a fortnight, which gave some alarm to the troops, together with an illjudged pun of Doctor Byles's, who intimated to some of the Corps that on the 14th June, forty thousand men would rise up in opposition to them with the clergy at their head, and left them to suppose it a fact; without explaining the matter, that on that day a general fast was to be observ'd throughout the province.

August 1st. — I wrote you a long letter, the 22nd ultimo, by one Mr. Marshall of your place, which I wish safe to hand, as it contains matters that I should be sorry for you not to see. If I remember right, one paragraph mention'd a waggon's being rifled of four firelocks by the Centinel on guard upon y^e Neck, which I have since been inform'd is a *fact*, and that the officer of the day return'd them and pleaded much with the party injur'd not to prosecute the matter, as it might be consider'd as a military robbery: which leads me to think that notwithstanding their hostile preparations and formidable appearance, they as yet esteem themselves as liable to the civil law; whether their dispositions when the two *infernal acts* arrive, with the *royall assent*, I can't say. From their long delay in coming, am in *some hopes* they are *suspended*, as the latest accounts we have from England are of the 14th May, at which time they had passed the two houses eight days, when a man of war was under sailing orders waiting *only* for their completion to bring 'em out, and its now eleven weeks since. God grant *that* may be the case! —

A few days since fifteen officers din'd at a house towards New Boston; improv'd by one of the Miss Erskines (a family noted for their hospitality and kindness to strangers, in admitting all comers to their b—d and board) where towards evening they committed all manner of enormous indecencies, by exposing their anteriors, as well as their posteriors, at the open windows and doors, to the full view of people, either men or women, that happened to pass by, with a great deal of opprobrious language, which caused a number of boys to gather round the house, at whom they presented pistols, and threatened to fire among 'em, when at dusk they began to break up and go off, two or three at a time, insulting people as they pass'd the streets. I happened to be going up that way (to Breck's) at the time, when I met two who had just come out of an apple shop, where they had been turning over all the old woman's things. They'd scarcely

passed me, when they insulted two men by running their fists in their faces and damning them (which men were in y^e principal affray afterwards and took away a sword and shoulder knot from one of 'em): a few steps further, another came running, as the only expedient to avoid making *Virginia fences*, when he came full against me, made a handsome apology, begged my pardon, and went on. About five minutes from this (when I had pass'd) the remainder, being five in number, sallied out with their cutlasses drawn, and met Abra Hunt, wine cooper (a well built, nervous fellow) with his wife, the latter of whom they began to abuse: at which the husband (being provided with a hickory walking stick) aim'd a blow at y^e officer's head, and laid it open; and had he not been prevented by y^e inhabitants from repeating his stroke, he must have demolish'd him: upon which they all laid about with their weapons and cleared the street of all the inhabitants, save Samuel Jarvis, Samuel Pitts, one Fullerton, a chairmaker, y^e man mentioned above, and a negro fellow, each of whom disarmed one without hurting 'em, save the negro, who knock'd his down with a billet of wood that he took from a pile that lay in the street. Samuel Pitts only of the inhabitants got wounded in the affray, having parried off several of their blows with his cane. One stroke in particular aim'd at him must inevitably have lay'd his skull open, which he had not opportunity to guard against, having two upon him at once; but, fortunately for him, he was standing against a fence and y^e cutlass struck against it, just above his head, and retarded the stroke, which was immediately repeated across his belly, when he received it upon his left hand, whereby his knuckles are split open and he is likely to lose y^e use of two or three fingers. He receiv'd the swords from those who had taken 'em and return'd with the officers to y^e house they came from, where they sent for y^e surgeon of y^e regiment and dress'd his wounds as well as the others, and upon their professing a sorrow for what they had done, and begging his pardon, he redeliver'd their swords (for which he is much blam'd) and the next morning acknowledg'd himself fully satisfied, by their concessions, for the injury he had receiv'd, at which his father was *much* vex'd, and threatned absolutely to disinherit him, if he did not prosecute the matter. Upon the whole, the Selectmen took cognizance of the affair, and chose a committee of four from their number to wait upon Earl Piercy (who commands in y^e Governor's absence) and acquaint him with it, who treated them very politely (and made many apologies that his marque would not

afford better accommodations for them) and express'd himself much displeas'd with their (y^e officers) conduct, and told 'em he would take effectual means to prevent the like behaviour in future, and further assur'd them, that if they chose to enter a prosecution in civil law, he would see that ev'ry of the culprits were deliver'd up.

The executors of the cursed *Port Bill* seem determin'd to put constructions upon it, that, am perswaded, was never intended by the *Legislators*; in particular, in regard to launching vessels, which, they give out, they shall seize immediately upon their being water borne — At present, there is about ten or a dozen ships on the stocks, nearly or quite ready to launch (the latter they are oblig'd to fill with water for their preservation) one of which belongs to your brother Cole, and the rest principally to *Scotsmen*; which circumstance makes the matter rather less grievous to the town, as *their* countrymen, we are inform'd, were the chief promoters of the Bill for which they now suffer in common with the inhabitants, as they have cargoes of tobacco now laying ready for them in Virginia, to take home to Scotland as freight.

I forgot formerly to acquaint you that Ruthy and I were at Betsy Checkley's wedding, at which we were entertain'd with a very pretty collation, consisting of cold ham, cold roast beef, cake, cheese, &c. Its about three weeks since her mother and grandmother have retir'd to the upper end of Roxbury with their families, together with that amiable maiden, their cousin, Sally Hatch, and the family with which she resided, so that (including the Roxbury people resident with them) they compose an agreeable social family of about twenty four or five and twenty females, with the master of the house a worthy Deacon of the parish, that Mrs. Checkley is perfectly easy in her mind, and says she enjoys more comfort and satisfaction in life than she has done since her husband's decease; which really gives me great pleasure, as she is a very worthy, amiable woman, and deserving of much better fortune than has fallen to her share.*

Among the *innumerable* hardships we suffer, that of not being suffer'd to convey any sort of merchandize across the ferry is not the least; whereby we are necessitated to receive every kind of goods from Marblehead or Salem via Cambridge, which adds one third to the length of the way, which is attended with the expence of eight

* Mrs. Checkley was the widow of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, of the New South (now Summer-street) Church. Her daughter Elizabeth was married to Samuel Adams.

dollars a load for about 28 or 30 miles, or 40/ lawful money at y^e lowest rate it is done for. It is no uncommon thing to hear the carriers and waggoners, when they pass a difficult place in y^e road, to whip their horses and damn Lord North alternately:—nor are the coasters who bring wood and grain allowed to carry away any more provisions and stores than will suffice to last 'em to Salem, much less permitted to carry any sort of merchandize or utensils for farming, whereby I am depriv'd of the sale of *at least* two thirds of y^e goods I usually us'd to vend, and of the other third I am in a manner totally depriv'd of, by the operation of the ill-judge'd policy of our committee, in promoting that *bane to harmony*, the solemn League and Covenant:—that really, Bill, I think myself well off to take cash enough to supply the necessary demands of my family, and you may as well ask a man for the teeth out of his head as to request the payment of money that he owes you (either in town or country, as we are all alike affected) for you'll be as likely to get the one as the other: notwithstanding which, there seems to be ease, contentment, and perfect composure in the countenance of almost every person you meet in the streets, which conduct very much perplexes the Governor and others, our lords and masters, that they are greatly puzzled, and know not what to do or how to act, as they expected very different behaviour from us. I hope we shall have resolution and virtue enough to observe a steady course, and not give them *the least advantage* by any misconduct of our own, much more to quiet any dissensions among ourselves that may tend to disturb that harmony so necessary to the welfare of us all.

—*2nd Instant.* Early this morning arriv'd in town eleven carts loaded with meat fish and one loaded with sweet oil, a donation from our sympathizing brethren of Marblehead, which the Committee of ways and means were oblig'd to get to town in this manner, as the *Commissioners* would not suffer it to come up by water, though it must be obvious to every one that it may be deem'd an article of *provision*. Neither will they permit the two cargoes of rice, a generous donation from South Carolina, together with a thousand bushels grain from Weathersfield in Connecticut, come up to us by water, and have gave out that they shall take upon 'em to say when we have fewell and provisions enough: after that, cease to let any come at all; more particularly any that may be sent for the relief of the poor. Am told that we are indebted for these *miniewers* to two born among ourselves, they composing half the number of the Commissioners:

the other two being for more favorable construction, but as there's an equal number of voices, they thought best rather to err in favor of the government than the people.

The Committee of Ways &c., met yesterday, and came to a determination to ship some of the rice at Marblehead on board a vessel for this town, and demand a clearance: in case of refusal, to enter a protest and proceed with it to Boston and take the chance of it, and then see whether they will put their threats in execution or not.

The poor of the Town are in general employ'd at present in mending the streets and cleaning the docks, for which they are paid $3/4$ a day, but some few of them grumble that they are oblig'd to work hard for that which they esteem as their right without work.

August 5th. — Being inform'd that a Mr. Hare of your city leaves town tomorrow morning, shall embrace the opportunity and enclose you the budget I have already wrote, and conclude by acquainting you that in consequence of the Committee's determination to bring some of the rice up to town by water (at all events), the Commissioners, together with the Governor, Admiral, Solicitor, etc'a., have had a general Council, and finally determin'd to admit Dumb fish and rice to be brought up as articles of provision, as also to suffer the ships on the stocks to be launched and proceed out of the harbour without let or molestation.

Must put off all thoughts of a journey to Philadelphia this fall, as its impossible to say what commotions may take place here when the other Acts arrive, if they ever do; as I am perswaded, from the spirit that prevails in the country towns in general, that they will never be suffered to operate there, whatever they may do in this town. Therefore I think it absolutely necessary for every one possessing property, to be in the way, least things may happen that are little thought of now.

P.S. Should be glad you would not show this, or any other of my letters, so as to let 'em know who was the author.

August 6th. — I expect you'll set me down for a journalist; as this gives a detail of occurrences in succession to my last by Mr. Hare of the 1st and 5th instant. This day arriv'd the transports with the 59th Regiment from Halifax and a detachment of the Artillery with twenty odd pieces of ordnance — as also the Scarborough ship of war with despatches for Governor Gage, among which is a Manda-

mus for 36 Councillors upon the new establishment—it is apprehended most of 'em will accept.

August 7th.—Arriv'd the other ships with the Royal Welch fusileers from New York, which with the others and the Men of War make the harbour look alive, affording a prospect of near thirty sail; a sight which would be really pleasing, if upon a different errand.

August 8th.—The gentlemen, nominated for councillors, set out early this morning, being Monday, to wait on his Excellency at his seat at Danvers, near Salem, agreeable to summons sent them last evening, among whom ten were sworn in, three accepted but not sworn, two absolutely declining, and four took time to consider of it; of the latter of which your uncle Joe* is one. The remainder being at a distance about the country, could not be advis'd early enough to give their attendance. Those sworn in are curst with near as many reproaches as *Lord North*, who, if the millionth part of the petitions are answer'd, will be sunk to the lowest pit: not only from the Sons of Freedom, but from the Tories likewise, who suffer equally with the others.

August 9th.—By an adjournment from about three weeks since, the town met together at Faneuil Hall (to consider of some eligible plan to adopt in regard to the distribution of the generous donations receiv'd from our sympathizing brethren in the other colonies) not without some apprehensions that Government would have interpos'd and dispers'd them, by virtue of the new Acts for regulating our Government: but nothing of the kind happen'd. Every thing went on without interruption. Among the business transacted, 7 per cent. of all bounties received was voted for the town of Charlestown, who are alike sufferers with us; after which, they adjourn'd to the latter end of October next, when they expect to act upon matters that may be agreed upon by the Congress.

August 10th.—This morning the remarkable cleanliness of your uncle Joe's door was obliterated by the application of what was formerly called *Hilsborough paint*. Whether it was done by the whigs or tories, I can't say, as they each lay it upon the other. The former lay it to the tories, and say that they did it with a view to vex him, and make him determine to accept of being a counsellor, when otherways he had no intention to do it: and the latter say it was done to intimidate him from accepting. I think the former supposi-

* Joseph Green.

tion most natural, as they neglected to meddle with several in town who were universally known to be actually sworn in, and who in y^e *general* opinion of the people, have render'd themselves much more obnoxious than the *Addressors*. Forgot to acquaint you yesterday, that Charles Starlin of your place, together with Daniel Waldo of this town, assisted by the Sheriff, seiz'd all the goods and effects of John Hunt, the *Corn hill Brazier*, who is now left to begin the world anew; which may possibly be the case with many more among us, especially at this critical juncture, when a man in trade who has got two thousand sterling due to him can't command or procure a payment of even forty shillings, even if to save him from an arrest — such a general stagnation is taken place.

The officers concern'd in the affray mention'd in my last, waited upon the Select Men, and publicly ask'd their pardons, to prevent a prosecution at law: which conduct evidently shews that the Governor is dispos'd to preserve peace among us, and that he intends to observe a strict and impartial administration of justice, so far as he is *permitted* to act himself. But under the present administration of affairs, *power* is substituted for *right*, and a ministerial mandate supersedes *all* Law and equity. Intended to have wrote you by Robert Treat Paine, who set out with the Committee for the Congress this morning, but did not know of their going till now. Am told they made a very respectable parade, in sight of five of the Regiments encamp'd on the Common, being in a coach and four, preceded by two white servants well mounted and arm'd, with four blacks behind in livery, two on horseback and two footmen. Am in hopes their joint deliberations will effect something for our relief; more particularly to concert such measures as may be adopted by the *Mother Country*, so as to settle a friendship between us that may be lasting and permanent. And may the DIVINE DISPOSER of all things so order their determinations, that they may tend to promote that social harmony heretofore subsisting between us, unincumbered with unjust taxes and illegal claims; and may brand with eternal disgrace the man that may *hereafter dare* to agitate any questions that may tend to disturb it.

August 11th. — Am just return'd from viewing a sight that a person must be destitute of every claim to sensibility not to be affected at, as the shocking circumstances attending it makes one almost shudder at the recital. Having passed the fall, winter, and spring, without being disturb'd with midnight cries of fire (a circumstance

that never happen'd before in my remembrance) we were last night alarm'd with that dismal cry between eleven and twelve o'clock. It broke out in a house improv'd by Zach. Morton, y^e Baker, and others to the number of 3 or 4 families. All the men and some of the women escaped, by jumping out of the chamber windows, and going upon the top of the house and falling on to the adjacent ones, as the floors, and even the beds they lay on, were on fire before they were appriz'd of their danger: whereby three of the women and two children suffer'd in the flames. The bodies, or rather trunks, of two of the former and one of the latter have since been taken out, so prodigiously mutilated, that I shall never get the idea out of my mind the longest day I have to live. Earl Piercy sent a very polite message down and offer'd the assistance of the army (who were apprehensive, *at first*, of an attack and fir'd their alarm guns, putting themselves in a posture of defence upon hearing all the bells of the town ring and the noise of the engines passing) which the Firewards as genteelly declin'd, having as much assistance as they thought necessary.

The ultimate wish and desire of the *high* Government party is to get Samuel Adams out of the way, when they think they may accomplish every of their plans: but however some may despise him, he has certainly *very* many friends. For not long since some persons (their names unknown) sent and ask'd his permission to build him a new barn, the old one being decay'd, which was executed in a few days. A second sent to ask leave to repair his house, which was thoroughly effected soon. A third sent to beg the favor of him to call at a taylor's shop and be measur'd for a suit of cloaths and chuse his cloth, which were finish'd and sent home for his acceptance. A fourth presented him with a new whig, a fifth with a new Hatt, a sixth with six pair of the best silk hose, a seventh with six pair of fine thread ditto, a eighth with six pair shoes, and a ninth modestly enquir'd of him whether his finances want rather low than otherways. He reply'd it was true that was the case, but he was very indifferent about these matters, so that his *poor* abilities was of any service to the Publick; upon which the Gentlemen oblig'd him to accept of a purse containing about 15 or 20 Johannes. I mention this to show you how much he is esteem'd here. They value him for his *good* sense, *great* abilities, *amazing* fortitude, *noble* resolution, and *undaunted* courage: being firm and unmov'd at all the various reports that were propagated in regard to his being taken up and sent home, notwithstanding he had repeated

letters from his *friends*, both in England as well as here, to keep out of the way. The Governor came to town this afternoon. He is to hold a Councell next Tuesday, when its to be determin'd whether the *considering* Gentlemen accept. I hope your uncle wont be sworn, as you can have no *just* conception of the spirit now prevalent in town and country. The ten already sworn are generally esteem'd as worse enemies to our *just rights and privileges* than Lord North, who is curs'd from morn to noon and from noon to morn by every denomination of people.

August 12th. This afternoon the two delegates from New Hampshire pass'd through the town on their way to your city.

August 13th. The Governor sent for the Selectmen, and acquainted them if they wanted a town meeting they had better make application while he was in town, as he would endeavor to grant their request. They in reply shew'd to him that *two* former meetings now stood adjourn'd to some future time, and that they [had?] not an immediate call for Another. In regard to that, he said he had not sufficiently consider'd of it, whether such a procedure was admissable or not; but they might depend that he should see that the act of parliament (which he read to 'em) was put in execution. It's currently reported that a regiment is to go to Worcester to protect the Court, which is to sit there soon. Yesterday the Committee of correspondence, in conjunction with the Select men, chose five delegates out of their number for a county meeting, to be convened at Stoughtonham and advise upon some measure to induce the inhabitants to settle all the little disputes that may subsist, either of a mercantile or private nature, and *if possible* prevent any suit coming on at the ensuing court, whereby they may *evade* acknowledging the authority of the act.

August 14th. Sunday. The anniversary of first opposition made to the Stamp Act in this town.

August 15th. Every humane person was pleas'd to be inform'd that the *military* were not suffer'd to punish a deserter with a death; but when we find that a thousand lashes is the substitute, we are equally shock'd to think that mankind can so far divest themselves of humanity as to be instrumental in inflicting such an horrid punishment on their fellow mortals. Early this morning a poor culprit received 250 lashes, which number he is to receive four successive weeks, being one that deserted from the Welch fusileers, just before they left York, and was taken at the Jersies and brought here, which Regiment is now encamp'd on Fort Hill, and the 59th from Halifax are gone to Salem,

where they are to take up their residence. The above, with one belonging to the 5th Regiment are the only two deserters they have taken, although upwards of 200 have left 'em since they've been here. They are kept under much stricter discipline than if in an enemy's country; being put under guard if seen conversing with an inhabitant, and not suffer'd to leave the camp without a written pass, which makes the Soldiers very dissatisfied with their situation, and rather stimulates their going off than otherways.

I intend sending this by Mr. Glover, who leaves town We'nsday morning. If anything turns up in the mean while worth relating, shall communicate it. Must beg your candour in regard to all I have wrote you of late, being only my crude thoughts, as they arise in my mind, without any correction whatever, as it would be almost an endless piece of business for me to copy all I have wrote, and what I may probably write you in future: for which reason I hope any of my letters wont miscarry, as in that case you will lose the connection between them, which it will be out of my power to supply by a duplicate. Must likewise *enjoin* it upon you to keep my name, as the author, to yourself; having wrote them only for your amusement, and if they serve to afford you any my utmost end is answer'd.

August 16th. Last evening the Cadet company met at Faneuil Hall by desire of Col^l Hancock, when he communicated to them a letter he had received from the Secretary, by order of the Governor, dismissing him from any further service as Captain of that Company: when they pass'd a vote to return their Colors to his Excellency, and acquaint him that they should not in future esteem themselves as his body guard; as also to deliver their Equipage, Musical instruments, &c. into Colonel Hancock's keeping till some future time, being determin'd not to appear under any other leader while he lives, as by the establishment of the Company they have a right to choose their own officers. By your uncle's not going to Salem to attend Council this morning, I conclude he has declin'd to accept, which I am the more inclin'd to think, as your aunt (with whom I drank tea yesterday P.M.) was very uneasy lest he should accept. Like the African habituated to slavery, I begin to be a little more reconcil'd to the loss of business and an inactive state of life; but the *distant* prospect of relief affords one some *small* consolation, and leads me to think that sooner or later our just rights and liberties will be reinstated upon a *firm* and *solid* foundation, if not impeded by a defection among ourselves. With a hearty concurrence in every *general* plan that may be

adopted to that end, and a sincere wish that they may have the desir'd effect I sign myself your's &c.

August 17th. Mr. Glover, who left town this morning, was kind enough to take charge of a letter to you of the 6th and 16th instant, which he inform'd me he should be able to deliver you in nine days.

Yesterday a Committee from the Cadet Company waited upon his Excellency at Salem, consisting of Gabriel Johonnot, Foster* and Samuel Pitts, attended by the Company's servant bearing the Standard. He received them and their *address* with politeness, but was somewhat nettled at the *contents*, as his answer evidently shews, being very laconic, and expressive of chagrin and disappointment. He accepted their colour, and told them Mr. Hancock had used him ill by personally affronting him (though Col. Hancock dont recollect that ever he did, and is sure he never *meant* to do it, nor can he conceive the reason why he should charge him with it, other than that his ill state of health would not admit of his personally paying his compliments to him when he came to the chair) and that he would not receive an affront from any man in the province, and had he previously known their intentions, should have disbanded them himself.

August 18th. I herewith inclose you an additional list of Councilors who have taken an Oath, *virtually*, to enforce all *arbitrary* Acts of Parliament upon us, and it wont be for want of *their endeavors* if they dont make slaves of the whole Continent. The inhabitants of the country towns (where many of them belong) are prodigiously vex'd, and its my opinion (if we may judge from the tenor of *all* their conduct) that they wont suffer any one to live among 'em.

August 19th. Am told this morning that Col. Murray's son of Rutland has sent express down to his father to beg him by no means to return home, as his life would be in imminent danger if he should: am excessive glad your uncle has declin'd.

August 20th. When I seriously reflect on the unhappy situation we are in, I cant but be uneasy least y^e trade of the town should never be reinstated again: but on the other hand, when I consider that our *future welfare* depends altogether upon a steady and firm adherence to the *common* cause, I console myself with the thoughts that if, after using every effort in our power, we are finally oblig'd to submit, we shall leave this testimony behind us, that, not being able to stem the stream, we were *of necessity* borne down by the torrent. You can

* The Christian name prefixed in the manuscript to Foster is illegible to me.

have no just conception how sensibly I am affected in my business. If you'll believe me (though I have got near two thousand sterling out in debts and about as much more in stock) I have ~~not~~ received above eighty or ninety pounds Lawful money from both resources for above two months past; though previous to the port's being shut, I thought it an ordinary day's work if I did not carry home from 20 to 40 dollars every evening. Consequently the burthen falls heaviest, if not *entirely*, upon the middling people among us; for the poor (who always liv'd from hand to mouth, i.e. depended on one day's labour to supply the wants of another) will be supported by the beneficence of the colonies; and the rich, who liv'd upon their incomes either as land-holders or usurers, will still have the same benefit from their wealth, for if one tenant is incapacitated to pay the annual rent, there is always another ready, *that is able*, to supply his place, and some among the money-lenders will rather be benefitted by our calamities, for many among us, who have heretofore been good livers (will not be esteem'd as objects of charity while they preserve that appearance, whether they have anything left which they can call their own, or not) if our embarrassments should continue *very* long, *must* be *necessitated* to take upon what *little* interest they may have left under very great disadvantages to themselves, and perhaps to the emolument of those who *would be thought* their benefactors. Such are the inevitable consequences resulting from a stoppage of trade; for if you consider the branch of the distillery of rum alone, at the smallest computation, is allow'd to be a loss of six thousand pounds Lawful money, a week to the town, as the expence attending the transportation of molasses 28 or 30 miles by land, and the rum when made the same distance (to be ship'd for foreign markets) is equal to a prohibition — that the manufacturers of that article in Mistick, Watertown, Salem, Haverhill and Newbury engross the whole of the trade, and its a chance (after being *long* used to those channels for a supply) whether it will ever revert to us again. The constant intercourse of heavy loaded carriages passing between this and Salem has so worn the road, in addition to the many uphill and down, that those carriers and waggoners, who prided themselves in keeping their *horses* fat and in good case, are obliged to submit to the mortification of being able to count *their* ribs, without the assistance of artificial optics, or the sense of feeling, such is the fatigue they undergo! If so now, what will it be in the fall and winter, when every step will immerze 'em a foot or two deep in mud and mire. In one of your letters you give me to understand that you expected, or would

wish to have, a circumstantial account of all proceedings, &c.; at this particular time. If I have omitted any material circumstance, its because I was never acquainted with it. Have endeavor'd to give you a diurnal account, and where occurrences have fail'd to embellish the day, have presum'd to afford you a treat of my own lucubrations.

Am this instant interrupted by a chace of four soldiers after a deserter through the market. He proves to belong to the 65th, and left 'em two or three years since. He seems to be a smart, stout fellow, dress'd in a short jacket and long trousers. Am amaz'd he should be so stupid as to appear in so publick a place. They have lug'd him up to the camp, from whence they will send him to his regiment, where I suppose a thousand lashes at least will be his portion.

August 21st. This evening two officers of the 38th were very severely drub'd for going into a house in Pleasant street and ill-using two women, whose husbands happen'd to be at home; whereby one of the officers got a contusion on his head from the stroke of a pistol, apply'd by a son of Vulcan; who followed him, took away his sword and broke it, while the other was feeling the effects of an injur'd husband's rage. They then both went and press'd a complaint to Lord Percy: what satisfaction he gave 'em, cant learn, but from his disposition to punish every misbehaviour, either in officers or soldiers, am perswaded he will do them justice.

August 22nd. The arrival of a vessel into Marblehead from Falmouth afforded us some few articles of intelligence that were rather encouraging than otherways. The arrival of *Hutchinson*, with the *first news* of a Union of the Colonies being likely to take place, must be productive of some good; and then, for every succeeding vessel to give 'em a *fresh* dose, must be *too powerful* for my Lord North, and I fancy the *operation* will produce strong convulsions, if not a total deprivation of his political existence. However uncertain the dependance, yet am pleas'd that the popular clamour has turn'd in our favor.

August 23rd. Notwithstanding the 59th Regiment, with part of the 64th, are quarter'd at Salem, yet they had a town meeting yesterday, *in contempt of the Act of Parliament*, and without leave from the Governor, though he was then in the town; when they chose five delegates for a *county* meeting, for the laudable purpose of settling disputes without having recourse to law. Which spirit prevails through the province, for Daniel Leonard, one of the new Councillors, belonging to Taunton, has return'd to town this morning, as the day he got home they muster'd from all the towns around to pay him a vizit, when

he very prudently came off to avoid the threatening storm. Colonel Murray of Rutland, another of them, set out for home this morning, accompanied by his son, (who is studying physic here) being both well arm'd and resolute, that I imagine they are determin'd to stand a *brush*, if oppos'd, being both *very* stout men, near or quite as large as *Forrest*. We also have account this morning that *Simpson's* shop at Providence (one of the Council belonging to this town) attended by his two nephews, who are connected with him in business, was tarr'd and feather'd one evening last week, and so many days allow'd for 'em to take their departure. On default, they are threatned to be serv'd as their shop, and carted likewise. An express arriv'd yesterday to his Excellency from Great Barrington, a town about one hundred and twenty miles westward from us, where they were rather premature with their conduct (having pull'd the judges from the bench, dispers'd the jurors, and would not suffer any court to be held) as the regulation in the choice of jurors does not take place till after the first of next month, though they were aggravated to it by one Ingersol, their representative, a lawyer, who about three weeks since behav'd so very insolent, by threatning to execute the new Acts, that they beset him and for want of tar they stuck the feathers on with grease and put him down an empty well, where they kept him till morning. Since which he has taken refuge with the Governor at Salem.

August 24th. We hear from Taunton this morning that upwards of two thousand men met on the green in that town, and but for the expostulations of *Leonard's* father (who disapprov'd of his son's being a Councillor, and promis'd to use his influence with him that he should resign) would have pull'd his house down. Col^o Murray halted yesterday at Cambridge, least too great precipitancy in so *bold* an enterprise should prove fatal. He has behav'd like an *experienc'd* commander, and sent to reconnoitre before he advances, with a view to *better* inform himself of the hostile dispositions of his townsmen. They say the affair at Great Barrington was not quite so bad as represented to the Governor, as the people that muster'd came from Connecticut Government (the town bounding on the line, and had so fill'd the courthouse as not to leave room either for the judges or jurors to enter. The consequence was that they either adjourn'd or dissolv'd the court.

August 25th. Am told that the Governor made a shew of dispersing the town meeting at Salem, by ordering down two companies from the 59th Regiment, who proceeded within a few rods of the meeting,

when they halted, and march'd back again immediately: which gave occasion to a shrewd fellow to repeat the old adage — “the king of France, &c'a.”, when the surgeon of the regiment made a stop, and said he could not but acknowledge it a just similarity — for here I am, says he, with my mates, provided with every apparatus for dressing wounds, performing amputations, &c'a. Since which, the committee of correspondence there were summoned before his Excellency and question'd in regard to the *meeting*, whether *they* were call'd by their authority or not. They readily acknowledg'd it was call'd and manag'd by their direction. He then observed to 'em, that they must abide by the consequences; for he should issue out writs to seize their persons and, if necessary, the Sheriff should be supported by the troops and he would bear 'em harmless for whatever they might do. Accordingly, two of 'em were taken up the same afternoon, when they gave bail and were dismiss'd. The other five were taken this morning, when they refus'd to give bail, and said they would rather be committed; when the magistrate thought proper to release 'em upon their parole of honor. The town was greatly alarm'd, and had they been committed the consequences must have been fatal; for the last accounts from England have rather encourag'd the sons of *freedom* to persevere than otherways, and confirmed the luke-warm that were staggering, as well as cool'd down the opposite party.

August 26th. The affair at Salem is the only topic of speculation this day. The latest accounts we have had from there was at ten o'clock P.M., when there was upwards of three thousand men assembled there from the adjacent towns, with full determination to rescue the Committee if they should be sent to prison, even if they were oblig'd to repel force by force, being sufficiently provided for such a purpose; as indeed they are all through the country — every male above the age of 16 possessing a firelock with double the quantity of powder and ball enjoin'd by law. The Marblehead people sent them word that they were ready to come in at a minute's warning sufficiently provided to lend assistance. George Williams, Captain Derby, &c., of the Committee told the Governor if the ninetieth part of a farthing would be taken as bail, they would not give it, and very pertinently retorted upon him “if he committed them *he must abide by the consequences*” — for they would not be answerable for what might take place. He told them that 4 o'clock P.M. was the utmost extent of time he would give them to consider of it, and earnestly recommended their giving bail to appear at the next Superior Court to answer to a

charge of "*high crimes and misdemeanures.*" The towns through the country are so far from being intimidated, that a day in the week does not pass without one or more having meetings, in direct contempt of the Act; which they regard as a blank piece of paper and not more; that I expect we shall be in a state of Nature for a season, as at present there dont seem the least probability that any court of justice will be suffer'd to act.

August 27th.—This morning we are favor'd with the agreeable news that his Excellency has suspended the matter at Salem by dropping the prosecution: which shews a great instance of prudence in him, that seeing them resolute and the people so determinate, he was willing to give up a point rather than push matters to extremities.

August 28th: Tuesday. Last evening two soldiers of the Welch fusileers attack'd young Mr. Molineaux in the street leading to his father's house, at about 11 o'clock. They seiz'd, and were lugging him away, when he disengag'd himself, run aside and pull'd off his coat and waistcoat. They made up to him: he knock'd one down and then the other with his fist; at the same time call'd out murther to raise the neighborhood. Not knowing what their intentions were respecting him, he kept 'em in play for about 15 minutes, when a lad came to his assistance: just at which time Major Small, an officer much respected here, came up. He seiz'd one of the fellows and put him under guard. The other ran off. He waited on Mr. Mollineaux at noon, and begg'd the favor of him to attend the Court Martial to-morrow morning.

August 29th. It is rumour'd this morning that a company or two has march'd for Roxbury, as there is to be a town meeting there this day. Notwithstanding all the parade the Governor made at Salem on account of their meeting, they had one directly under his nose at Danvers, and continued it two or three howers longer than was necessary, to see if he would interrupt 'em. He was made acquainted with it, but reply'd — "Damn 'em! I wont do any thing about it unless his Majesty sends me more troops." Three or four of the new councillors living in the country have resign'd already, and some of the more obstinate have taken refuge here. Have inclos'd you this day's paper, which contains many Speculative pieces that may afford you entertainment at a leisure hour: more particularly the details of transactions and expences occurr'd by this province for a series of years.

August 30th. From my frequency of writing you may well think I have little else to do, being neither fatigued with that nor troubled

with business. Much less am I dispos'd to lead an idle life: and if I cant employ my time to my own benefit I think the least I can do is to contribute all in my power to the amusement of my friends abroad as well as at home, in y^e former of which I esteem you as the principal, and am happy in the thought, that *like sentiments possess congenial souls*. If the budget by Mr. Breck dated the 17th @ 29th instant affords you but a moment's satisfaction, I am fully repaid for the part I have towards it; as the dictates of *true* friendship *ever* prompts us to wish our friends a participation in those matters that may prove agreeable. So much for introduction: — will now proceed to acquaint you that they met with no interruption in the business of their meeting at Roxbury yesterday, save that *Isaac Winslow* attended and declar'd his entire willingness to resign his councillor-ship; made an apology for his acceptance, and said that it was more owing to the perswasion of others than to his own inclinations.

Late in the evening a member waited upon Commodore Loring, and in a friendly way advis'd him to follow the example of his *townsman*. He desir'd time to consider of it. They granted it, but acquainted him, if he did not comply, he must expect to be waited upon by a larger number, actuated by a different spirit. His principal apprehension was that he should lose his *half pay*.

The Superior Court, which sits here this day, affords the only subject for speculation which has turn'd up in the course of it. Judge Oliver having assum'd his seat at the bench (for the first time since his impeachment) caus'd a reluctance in the jury to serve, and they one and all absolutely refus'd. The Grand-jurors gave in their reasons in writing and the petit-jurors by a bare negative; save Mr. Mifflin's cousin, Thomas Chase, who declar'd boldly "that his conscience would not let him take the oath whiles Peter Oliver set upon the bench, who was under impeachment by the honorable house of representatives:" — upon which they were dismiss'd, and the Court adjourn'd till tomorrow, when the affair at Salem is to be reassum'd again, though the Governor is at present with us.

August 31st. At sunset last evening I amus'd myself with a walk in the *Mall*, and could not but admire at the *subservient* honors paid his Excellency, being attended by five or six field officers and two or three aid de camps, with eight orderly sergeants at an *awful* distance in the rear: parading up the street from Sheriff Greenleaf's he met with 'Squire *Edson*, (a mere plowjogger to look at) one of the new fangled, refugee councillors, whose townsmen, at Bridgewater, after some

exhortation, thought proper to *send him to Coventry*, nor would they even deign to sing y^e psalm after his reading it, being deacon of the parish, such is the detestation in which they are all held that refuse to resign. His Excellency, after about ten minutes *earnest* conversation with him, proceeded to Earl Piercy's, who occupies a house at the head of Winter Street, belonging to Inspector Williams. While he went in, his attendants of high and low rank stood in waiting at the gate like so many *menial slaves*.

Seven of the transports now in the harbour are under sailing orders to proceed to Quebeck and bring away the troops from there (that it may be an easier conquest for the French, for I think the least they can do, after passing an act to allow them their *old mode* of legislation and the church of Rome, the establish'd religion of the country, is to give 'em an opportunity to assume the reins of Government into their own hands, independent of Great Britain), as well as from New York and your city: which in addition to the four more regiments expected from Ireland (of which we have certain accounts of their coming) they intended to carry all before them here. But I hope y^e *strict* observance of a steady and peaceable conduct will disappoint their views, for am perswaded there is nothing they wish for more than an opportunity to deem us rebels; but God forbid! they should ever be gratified.

September the 1st. Yesterday in the afternoon two hundred and eighty men were draughted from the severall regiments in the common, furnish'd with a day's provision each, to be in readiness to march early in the morning. Various were the conjectures respecting their destination, but this morning the mystery is unravell'd, for a sufficient number of boats from the Men of War and transports took 'em on board between 4 and 5 o'clock this morning, and proceeding up Mistick river landed them at the back of Bob Temple's house, from whence they proceeded to the magazine (situated between that town and Cambridge) conducted by judge Oliver, Sheriff Phips, and Joseph Goldthwait, and are now at this time (8 o'clock) taking away the powder from thence, being near three hundred barrells, belonging to the Province, which they are lodging in *Temple's* barn, for conveniency to be transported to the Castle, I suppose.

The cause of this mineuvour was brought to light yesterday by mere accident. The Governor walking up the main street to dine with Brigadier Pigot of the 43d, who improves a house just above Liberty tree, by *chance* or *design*, in pulling out his handkerchief, dropt

a letter from Brigadier Brattle of Cambridge (am apt to think the *latter*, with a view to exculpate himself from being thought to take such a measure of his own head): the purport of which, as near as I can recollect, is as follows, vizt. ; — “that being acquainted by one Captain Minot th[at] he the said Jones had been apply’d to, and urgently press’d to conduct about fifteen hundred men towards Cambridge, that he dissuaded the said Minot from complying, and told him if he did, he would be *hang’d and shott for a REBELL*: that he was apprehensive the PROVINCE POWDER was in danger, all *other*, either belonging to particular towns, or individuals, had been *withdrawn*. It being private property, he could not do otherwise than deliver it, and as a friend to *good* government he should do his *utmost* endeavour to preserve THAT as a sacred *depositum*.”

It was obvious to every one of the least discernment that the Brigadier was much chagrin’d at not receiving a *mandamus*, though he has since declar’d, in a *scoffing way*, that he was exceeding glad he was not appointed, and would *only* wish to have been, that he might have had an opportunity to *shew* that he had the good of his country at heart, by resigning *with contempt*, or rather *refusing*. From the above, we may judge of his sincerity, which was always doubted, and its very evident that he’s aiming to fill a vacancy.

Judge Danforth waited on Governor this day to resign his seat at the Councel Board. He refus’d to accept of it, and told him he might absent himself, if he pleas’d, but he had sworn to give *him* council, from which oath it was not in his power to release him. And yesterday young Mr. Hutchinson sent in his resignation in writing, with his reasons at large, to his Excellency, which makes me think they *must have* some private intimations from England that affairs are likely to take a more favorable turn for us.

September 2nd. The country people, being vastly more vigilant and spirited than the town, did not fail to visit Brattle and Sewall’s house last evening, but not finding either of ’em at home, they quietly went off. But a report having prevail’d through the country (by reason of the seizure of the powder yesterday) that y^e same game had been play’d here, and y^e inhabitants disarm’d has rais’d such a spirit as will require the utmost prudence to allay; for they are in arms at all quarters, being determin’d to see us redress’d. At eight o’clock this morning there were about three thousand under their regular leaders at Cambridge common, and continually increasing; had left their arms at a little distance, when Judge Lee and Danforth waited upon ’em,

and gave them the fullest assurances that they had resign'd their seats at y^e board and would not act in any capacity whatever, that was disagreeable to the people. Lieutenant Governor Oliver is come to town and Brattle is gone to the Castle, which I believe is the only place of safety for him in the province. Four or five expresses have come down to Charlestown and here, to acquaint us, that between Sudbury and this, above ten thousand men are in arms and are continually coming down from the country back: that their determination is to collect about forty or fifty thousand by night (which they are sure of accomplishing) when they intend to fling in about fifteen thousand by the way of the Neck, and as many more over the ferry: when once got possession, to come in like locusts and rid the town of every soldier. But such a scheme is so big with mischief and calamity, that y^e Committee of correspondence, select men, and every prudent man in the town of Charlestown, set off to appease 'em early in the morning; and the committee of correspondence from this town also went at the same time. Since which, accounts have been so alarming that between ten and eleven o'clock the Select men set out from here, to try what they could do to satisfie and disperse 'em. Ruthy set out this morning for Hingham, in company with my mother, Mr. Breck, and Ben. Am rejoiced that she is out of the way, just at this time.

A Guard of Soldiers is set upon the Powder house at the back of y^e Common, so that people are debar'd from selling their own property; and the Guard upon the Neck is doubled, as well as that the whole battallions have had new flints, &ca., delivered out to them.

Commissioner Hallowell, coming from Salem to his house in Roxbury, pass'd by Cambridge common, where the people were collected, spoke somewhat contemptuously of them, which soon came to their ears. They immediately sent a party in pursuit of him. He saw them coming; jump'd out of his chaise; order'd his negro off the horse and got on; when he set out upon the full gallop with a pistol in each hand. One of the party, better mounted than the rest, overtook him upon the Neck, at whom he snap'd his pistol, which luckily missed fire, when he put on with full speed, and flung himself into the protection of the guard posted there. News of the above movement of the Army, which was represented as though they were coming against them, together with the *aggravation* that Hallowell had shot a man, was carried to Cambridge, which set the people in a prodigious ferment (who before were become quite calm and compos'd) and every

one retir'd to Watertown, where they had left their arms, and return'd to the Common fully equipp'd and well dispos'd to make a tryal of skill. They had the presence of mind to get matters in readiness to take up the bridge, to prevent their bringing the artillery to bear upon 'em, least the Combat should be too unequal. An express came down and rode full speed up to the fortification, and upon being inform'd that matters were not as had been represented, hastily returned over the ferry and quieted their minds again. *Pray* excuse incorrectness, as I am neither *historian* nor *Scholar*.

September 3rd. — As a continuation to the other sheet, must observe to you that between three and four thousand remain'd upon the field in Cambridge till night, when they peaceably return'd, each one to his own house, but not till they had procur'd a written acknowledgment from Governor Oliver, that he would give up his seat in Councill, and verbally offer'd to renounce the Commission of *Lieutenancy* if they desir'd it: but they told him to retain it by all means, that they did not wish for a *better man* to hold the second office in the Government than him. They also procur'd a written obligation from Sheriff Phips, that he would not return jurors, serve writs, &ca., nor even act officially in any case upon the principal of y^e new establishment. It is worthy remark that Judge Lee observ'd to 'em, after he had made his resignation, that he never saw so large a number of people together and preserve so peaceable order before in his life.

Though they had an account at Marlborough of the powder's being remov'd, last Thursday night, yet they were down to Cambridge (which is thirty miles) by eight o'clock Fryday morning, with a troop of horse and another of foot, both under the command of Gib. Speakman, a young fellow who serv'd his time with John Rowe.

One day this week they had a County meeting at Concord, consisting of 158 delagates (not one town or district failing to send one or more) when they pass'd a number of spirited resolves, not leaving any subject or circumstance under their cognizance unnoticed. They were drawn up by a sub-committee of nine, and after being reported, it was resolved that every member should answer yea or nay, for the question, when there was 154 yeas, one absolute nay, and the other three apologiz'd, that as they were not permitted to qualifie their answer, they must say nay, though they excepted against only two or three paragraphs.

They have also had a rendezvous at Springfield this week, and

number'd about two thousand men, who took much the same measures as at Cambridge, in regard to their sheriffs, constables, &c.

Sunday, September the 4th. They have haul'd the Men of War close in upon the town at all quarters. Last evening, after holding out against the perswasions of all his friends, Treasurer Gray resign'd, and in the morning of the same day Jonathan Simpson, with Willard of Lancaster, and indèed most of those belonging to the country — save some who are here in town, and Governor wont let go home, least they should be prevail'd on to comply. The Commander in Chief asked the Lieutenant Governor how many the mob consisted of that were before his house. He told him about four thousand; but they were not a mob by any means, but consisted of the leading men in the county and reputable substantial farmers.

As Brattle's letter has since been publish'd, with his address to the public in vindication of himself, I herewith inclose 'em, together with an acknowledgment to the public by E. Goldthwait, which I think very extraordinary from him.

Were it my wretched fate, to lead a life
Without a home, much more without a wife,
Experience then could not but make it so:
Solman said, *all's vanity here below.*

But were my case to be *vice versa* thus,
Blest with a *wife*, a *home*, but *empty* purse;
Then might I say, with *Agur* in his prayer,
A competence, LORD! give me for my share.

When blest with that, I still might crave for more,
And not content, plead poverty as before;
Thus human nature always is the same,
One wish acquir'd yet still we wish again.

Being three days without Ruthy's company, the only time of her absence since we were connected, gave rise to the first verse, but when in the vein my muse led me on: therefore you have it rough as it runs.

I expect my private opportunities will fail me soon, and should not chuse to put you to the expence of postage, without your *special* permission, though I dont think the matter I write is worth that cost, yet if I have your orders I shall endeavor to comprise as much as possible in a *single* sheet, with my toast in one hand, my pen in the other, and a sup of coffee (not tea) now and then.

September 5th. The alarm caus'd by the movement of the coun-

try has induc'd the Governor to order a number of field pieces up to the neck guard, and this morning has got a number of workmen there, to build blockhouses and otherways repair the fortification. It was reported that he was going to cut a canal across and break off the communication with the country other than by a bridge; in consequence of which the Select men waited upon him. He assur'd them he had no intention to break ground, but was only about securing the entrance into the Town, that the inhabitants as well as the soldiers may not be expos'd to inroads from the country. One of the gentlemen shew'd to him, that if he persisted in such proceedings, the inhabitants would leave the town and send an express home with a remonstrance against him: upon which he exclaim'd, "J—s G—d! what! leave the town!"—being apprehensive, I suppose, if such a thing *should* take place, that he and his *formidable host* would come to short commons.

September 6th. From the various county meetings, we promise ourselves great benefit, and I think every *good* member of society will acquiesce with their purposes. But any one who avails himself *of the times*, and keeps a creditor from his just due, ought to be despis'd by every good man. Our county meets this day at Stoughton, Essex county at Ipswich, and Worcester county are to meet at *that place*, when at a short day they are to have a provincial assembly, in order to cement the union upon a *Basis* as firm as solid, and keep up that *noble* spirit that universally prevails among all ranks of people. Its allowed, by the best calculations, that at least a hundred thousand men were equipt with arms, and moving towards us from different parts of the country. The *celebrated* Colonel Putnam was at the head of fifteen thousand, and its said that five and twenty thousand more were in a body a day's march behind him. Among the former was two of Governor Trumbal's sons of Connecticut, who were three days in the ranks as soldiers. Its greatly to their credit that in all the different parties that were collected, and in all their various movements, there was as much good order and decorum observ'd, as when attending church on Sundays.

The townspeople are in general very uneasy and dissatisfied with the Governor's fortifying the entrance; so much so, they cant get any *one* workman to assist 'em. They've got an engineer from York, who is trying what he can do with a number of carpenters and masons out of the army. They talk of sending to New York for a number of mechanics to affect it: its my opinion, if they are wise, they wont come.

The *famous* Colonel Jones of Westown was held in durance about three hours, one day last week, and catechised by about three hundred from the contiguous towns.

September 7th. A ship from London arriv'd at Salem yesterday P.M., with thirty odd chests of that *cursed herb* for Smith and Atkinson of this town. Cant learn that she has brought anything in particular, save that the commotions are very great in England upon account of the Quebeck bill, as well as our's. An arm'd schooner from England, but last from Halifax, is just entered the harbour at my writing this, and saluting the admiral, (who, by the way, detains all the ferry boats along side his ship from nine at night till five in the morning) with dispatches for General Gage.

Two light horse, well mounted and equipt, came into town this morning, who belong'd to a troop of five hundred that were upon their march from Connecticut; and upon hearing that matters were quiet here, they return'd to their respective homes.

September 8th. As the Governor, Commissioners, and indeed all the Governmental gentry have taken up their residence in town for the Winter, the 59th Regiment is expected from Salem immediately. They have fix'd the colors and laid out their ground for their encampment at y^e side of y^e Neck, near y^e Windmill. Yesterday, between one and two o'clock P.M., the General, with a large parade of attendants, took a survey of the skirts of the town; more particularly that part opposite the country shore. 'Tis suppos'd they intend to erect Batteries there to prevent any incursions of the country people from that quarter, having effectually secur'd the Neck by the disposition of the field pieces; and their caution extends so far as to have a guard patrolle Roxbury streets at all hours of the night, as well as another posted at Charlestown ferry every night, after the evening gun fires.

As experience makes men wise, so the least alarm will put 'em upon their guard that have *once* been trick'd. A *Scotch* Captain, who is building a ship at *Charlestown*, observ'd that they put the ammunition, such as shot, &c., belonging to the battery there, under ground. He came over and inform'd the Governor of it, who sent an officer over with him to examine the premisses yesterday afternoon. The inhabitants, suspecting what would take place, provided a number of teams, such as carry ship timbers, and slung all the guns belonging to the battery, and carried up country, together with the reposit of shot, &c. About midnight another *formidable* expedi-

tion was set on foot. The boats from all the Men of War were man'd with soldiers, with orders to dismantle the fort and bring off *all* the Ordnance, Stores, &c. : but I imagine their chagrin was as great as their disappointment. So much for the honor of *Pig Village*, Bill! Tell Breck, if with you, that *Bradstreet* is at least a foot higher upon the occasion.

September 9th. Neither prompted by a brutal gratification, nor destitute of tender feelings, but led by a curiosity natural to most men, early this morning I attended the execution of the *poor* fellow whom I mentioned in one of my former letters to have been taken up in y^e market for desertion. After the Parson had pray'd with him, and while his grave was digging, he address'd himself to the Soldiers (who were drawn up from all the Regiments around him) : he spoke for half an hour very fluently and compos'd, but when he was fix'd to the spot from which he was not to remove but into an *awfull eternity*, his spirits were much agitated, and after another exhortation and prayer, which continued about a quarter of an hour, he received the discharge of six muskets from about eight yards distance, and least that was not sufficient, a fourth stepp'd up and presented his gun close to his head and discharg'd it, which put a period to his life. He was then laid upon the lid of his coffin and expos'd to the view of the whole Army, who were made to march in a slow, solemn step close on one side his body, as an example *in terrorem*, I suppose ; though I imagin it will have a quite contrary effect (unless they are lost to all sense of humanity) and create in them an utter detestation to remain subordinate to a set of men, who were instrumental in committing such an unjust act of cruelty.

Colonel *Frye*, of Salem (who was the magistrate that endeavor'd to commit the *committee of correspondence* there) has resign'd all his posts of *honor* and *profit*. Indeed necessity oblig'd him to, as he and his family were in danger of starving ; for the country people would not sell him any provisions, and the inhabitants, however well dispos'd any might be to him, dare not procure him any. And Colonel Browne of the same place, a lately appointed *Judge* as well as *counsellor*, is oblig'd to repair here for an assylum. A committee from that county waited on him yesterday to require a resignation. Whether they obtain'd it or not I cant learn. The present temper of the People throughout the Province is such, that they wont suffer a *tory* to remain any where among 'em without making an ample recantation of his principles ; and *those* who *presume* to be so obsti-

nate as not to comply, are oblig'd to take up their residence in *this* city of *refuge*, which the Governor and the Army esteem as yet unsafe for *them* as well as themselves, and notwithstanding the six field pieces planted at y^e Neck, they have brought twelve cannon from the Castle, some nine and some four pounders, which they have dispos'd about the entrance of the town. And this is not the only proof of their fear; for I am well inform'd that they keep so many and such strict guards of nights, that the soldiers don't get but one undisturb'd night's sleep out of four.

September 10th. They have drawn off the whole of the troops from Salem, and the Board of Commissioners, with the Governor's family and furniture, are all arriv'd here, not thinking themselves secure in a town surrounded by the country as that is: so that they *disobey* the Act of Parliament as well as y^e People, which is expressly, *that no Commissioner shall remain in y^e town of Boston.* The *Tea* arriv'd at *that* town in y^e Julius Cæsar is to go to Halifax, where it will meet with as unwelcome a reception, I imagine, as here; as a number of y^e inhabitants who are here, seem to breathe the same spirit of freedom as prevails through the continent. A chest of *that* which went from Portsmouth, was smuggled up to *Windsor*, a town about forty miles from Halifax, and lodg'd with a Magistrate, whose house was surrounded by the populace and threatened to be set on fire if he did not deliver it up; and the waggon which convey'd it there was intirely demolish'd.

Sunday, September 11th. By the Eastern post last evening we are inform'd that a mast ship had arriv'd at Portsmouth with thirty chests of tea on board, which had taken shelter under the fort; that the inhabitants had taken possession of the fort, and beset one Parry's house, to whom it came consign'd, he being a contractor there. And sometime yesterday a ship bound from Scotland to New York with passengers, put in here in distress, having been eleven weeks out and only two days provisions left. They apply'd to the Admiral for leave to victual, who *very humanely* told 'em, if they did not depart in six hours he would sink 'em; and his secretary ask'd them, what the *Devil* they came to America for, *to be made slaves of*; that they'd much better go back to Scotland again; that they should not have any provisions in this province; if they wanted any, they might go to Newport for it. Am told the Admiral us'd the same threats to the transports which sail'd a few days since for Quebeck, as y^e captains were very unwilling to go, it being so late in the season, and they not at all relishing the thoughts of wintering there.

September 12th. The Governor is to return an answer to-day to the Committee from the County of Suffolk, or rather our county, who waited upon him on Saturday last. Among other matters in their remonstrance is, “that nothing less than an immediate removal of the cannon and artillery from Boston Neck will satisfie ‘em.” Four of the refugee councillors lodge at y^e head of Quaker lane, and have four soldiers lodge in y^e house every night to defend ‘em if molested, at y^e bottom of which lane, or rather opposite *Joy’s buildings*, are five or six shops, improv’d by a Chaisemaker, Taylor, Shoemaker, Barber, &ca., in each of which they have a bell; and when either of ‘em observes a councillor or *high Torey* pass, he gives y^e signal by ringing his bell which takes through the whole, and thus they are complimented till out of sight.

The General has set about two hundred soldiers to work upon the fortifications this morning; I suppose with a view to be in readiness to give the county committee a negative answer. He is by no means satisfied with his disappointment at Charlestown, as he sent a number of officers and soldiers over there yesterday; who were employ’d, in service time in particular, in traversing the streets and by-ways, and tampering with the children, to get out of them where the cannon were hid. Many of the inhabitants are *serious* about leaving the town, as they are in general apprehensive that when the Governor has sufficiently fortified it, *military Law* will be declar’d, and no one suffer’d to go out but by his permission, notwithstanding what he may have said to the contrary. There is no knowing, Bill, what may take place with us. For my own part, I endeavor to make myself as easy as I can; but if they should come to disarming the inhabitants, the matter is settled with the town at once; for *blood* and *carnage* must inevitably ensue — which God forbid! should ever take place.

The County Committee waited upon the Governor this forenoon for his answer, when he express’d himself nearly as follows:— Good God! Gentlemen, make yourselves easy, and I’ll be so. You have done all in your power to convince the world and me that you will not submit to the Acts, and I’ll make representations home accordingly, for which I will embrace the earliest opportunity. You must be sensible it is as much for my benefit as yours’, not to take any measures that may prevent the country from bringing in their provisions, and in return should be glad to be answer’d in some questions I may ask, vizt. — What is the reason that the cannon were remov’d from Charlestown? — And why do the country

people go in and out of the town arm'd?" Answers to which they told his Excellency they would deliver to him in writing to-morrow; not but that they might have satisfied him immediately, but I suppose they chose to be very explicit upon the subject, and take the opportunity to open their minds fully upon matters and things to him. In regard to the people coming in arm'd, I never understood that they did; but as to their going out so is very common, for every man in the country not possess'd of a firelock makes it a point to procure one, so that I suppose for a month past, or more, not a day has pass'd, but a hundred or more are carried out of town by 'em.

September 13th. Have inclos'd you yesterday's paper, which will shew you better than I can express, with what rapidity the recantations go on with regard to addressors, &c.; as also the Middlesex County resolves, which are judicious and spirited — with the Conduct of Jurors. The 59th Regiment, encamp'd on the Neck, are very busy entrenching themselves. P. S. Should be glad to be favor'd, if opportunities present, with any particulars of importance that may turn up your way, more especially transactions of the Congress. Am just inform'd that the officers prevail'd on a negro at Charlestown to inform 'em where the cannon were lodg'd; which being known there, they mustered about three thousand, and with teams carried 'em about ten or a dozen miles further up. Several among 'em were eight and forty pounders, which weigh'd between two and three ton apiece. This morning Doctor Young left the town, to settle at Providence, being apprehensive from the measures that are taking that he may be taken up, and therefore thinks it his duty to defeat their purposes, in regard to himself, while it's in his power.

September 14th. As vicious minds are apt to exaggerate the truth, so one wedded to any particular principles, is very likely to make a partial representation of facts favorable to his own tenets. And as the mind of man is capable of receiving different impressions, I think it absolutely necessary for *one* who undertakes to relate occurrences, that he should not be *influenced* by any prejudices, nor endeavor to dress matters so that they may admit of a *false* coloring — not that I can boast of an *independant* spirit myself, by any means, but must *freely* acknowledge that my sentiments *entirely* coincide with the *people*; therefore cant but approve the general spirit of freedom that prevails at this time through the continent — but at the same time would *equally* condemn any *injudicious* measures, adopted either by *whig* or *tory*; and have endeavored, as far as my abilities would

admit, to give you a true state of things, untinctur'd with mistaken zeal or bad policy, at *least* so far as I can judge for myself, upon which principle mine of the 6th @ 13th instant was founded, which will be handed you by your old friend, Doctor Loring ; and regarding the same *mode*, shall proceed to acquaint you with an instance of the *military's* disposition to preserve peace and live in harmony among us. Yesterday S. Rogers, J. Smith and Wm. Palfrey were conversing together near the Province House, when one of y^e. guards posted at y^e. gate came out, and very insolently order'd them to disperse, and upon refusal, threatned to make 'em, by a push of y^e. bayonet, upon which *Palfrey* immediately walk'd up to the door to acquaint his excellency with the usage, and was waited upon by his *aid de camp*, who directly ordered the fellow under guard, and beg'd y^e. favor of y^e. gentlemen that they would attend the court martial this morning, and they should have *all* the satisfaction they would wish or desire.

Precepts are issued out to call a general Court to be conven'd at Salem, but the Governor certainly dont intend they shall sit there, as he sent *Baker* off this day to bring the Records, papers, &ca., from there. Besides, he would not chuse to risque his *dear self* there, now that all the troops are come away : for after laying out near, or quite two thousand sterling in building hospitals, hutts, &ca., they have tore all down again, save the chimnies, and brought entirely away.

September 15th. As few days pass without affording some matter for speculation, what engrosses the attention of the public this morning is the *mighty* feat perform'd by the General last night, having order'd two ships near the North battery, with a spring upon their cables, ready for an engagement, while a number of *Soldiers* were *spiking up* all the guns : in which measure he has anticipated the intentions of a number of y^e. inhabitants, who have had it some time in contemplation whether to remove, or treat them in y^e. *same manner* least they might be made use of to fortifie the Neck : though am told *they* had such a tremor upon their spirits while about it, as to do them very ineffectually. One man, who had been to view 'em, told me he would engage to reinstate 'em all, in the course of a day. But what occasions some small diversions is, that a captain of an arm'd schooner and the lieutenant of the Preston went between ten and eleven o'clock P.M. to inquire for y^e. keys, to see if the business was done properly, when a woman waited upon 'em, unlock'd the door and let 'em in, and watching their motions, she observ'd when they

had got far enough forward, and came out hastily and lock'd the doors upon 'em,—where they remain'd a long while, calling to the ships to take 'em off (in view of a vast concourse of people on the shore, enjoying the jest), as they could not scale the walls without a ladder, nor indeed could they get off by water, as the tide was low and they must have dropt above twenty feet from y^e port holes into a boat. So, Bill., you may see we have subjects that provoke our risible faculties, as well as our irascible ones.

September 16th. Overbearing *systems*, either in *Religion* or *Politics*, oftener produce effects that are counter, rather than favorable to their designs. Ever since y^e cannon were taken away from Charlestown, the General has order'd a double guard to y^e new and old gun houses, where y^e brass field pieces belonging to our militia are lodg'd: notwithstanding which, the vigilance and temerity of our people has entirely disconcerted him, for We'n'sday evening, or rather night, they took these from the Old house (by opening the side of the house) and carried away through Frank Johonnot's Garden. Upon which he gave it in orders the next day to the officer on guard to remove those from the New house (which stands directly opposite the encampment of the 4th Regiment and in the middle of the street near the large Elm tree), sometime the next night into the camp; and to place a guard at each end, or rather at both doors, till then. At the fixed hour the Officer went with a number of Mattresses to execute his orders, but behold, the guns were gone! He swore the *Devil* must have help'd them to get 'em away. However, they went to work, and brought off the carriages, harness, utensils, &ca., which they repositied in the Camp. Its amazing to me how our people manag'd to carry off the guns, as they weigh near seven hundred weight apiece; more especially that they should do it, and not alarm the centinels. Am told their business was not executed above 10 or 15 minutes before the officer came as above.

September 17th. Sometime yesterday an officer went to take away seven or eight iron ordnance, belonging to Arnold Wells, Esqr., who forbid him to take 'em at his peril. They lay along side his Distil house,* at a wharf near the South fish market, his dwelling house being in the street above, and communicating with the wharf. The Military, apprehensive that a delay of their *expedition* 'till midnight

* This was formerly a lawful term for distillery: see the leading case of Horn v. Baker, 9 East, 215.

would bilk 'em of their prize, went with a large parade in the evening to take 'em away. Mr. Wells being out, his wife (whom you know has a *very* voluble tongue) went out and rallied 'em so, that the officer was necessitated to give her a *receipt* to be answerable for their *forth* coming, before she would suffer him to take them.

A greater or less degree of timidity *always* accompanies those that are commissioned to execute any *unjust* or *unwarrantable* measures : a very recent proof of which we have, from the conduct of the military last night ; among *whom* a rumour prevail'd that the country were preparing to fire their ships (which must have arisen from their own terrified imaginations, as I can't learn that they had the least cause for such an alarm), which induc'd 'em to place a double guard upon their decks, keep boats man'd and rowing about all night, besides placing an extra guard on the end of the long wharf.

Sunday, September the 18th. It being customary in the camp for the soldiers to be drawn out every Monday morning compleatly equip'd, with knapsacks, &ca., to be thoroughly examin'd in regard to their linnen, &ca., and as great part of the 38th Regiment are going to work upon the fortifications tomorrow morning, they underwent their examination about 9 or 10 o'clock this morning ; in order to which, they march down towards the beach, which manœuvre rais'd a suspicion in some people's minds (who were more *credulous* than *wise*) that they were going to Watertown after the cannon : which, by being *often* told, came to be *believ'd*, and the committee here sent to inform their brethren of Charlestown, which broke up their morning service and induc'd them to proceed to Cambridge, and from thence to Watertown, alarming all as they went, to be prepar'd and ready to act upon the defensive, if attack'd. Its possible so *trivial* an affair by *propagation* may be *aggravated* to such *gross falsehoods* as were caus'd by the powder expedition.

September 19th. A participation in each other's pleasures and sorrows is a blessing that *only* the human species can boast of ; and indeed there are many among them whose natures are so deprav'd as not to admit of a fellow feeling for another. But on the other hand, I have the charity to think that much the greater part of mankind are not only willing to participate, but equally dispos'd to give proofs, far more convincing than bare professions. Among the number of the latter, Bill, I always esteem'd you, nor have I ever had reason to alter my opinion. Therefore am convinc'd you will partake with us in the satisfaction we receive from being told that our cousin Hannah

Green, who has repeatedly been given over by her physicians, is now in a fair way of recovery, as almost every symptom of her *tedious* disorder has disappear'd — though am much afraid that *Ruthy* is going to be sick, as her *very* slender constitution continually exposes her to take cold. She set out from Hingham late in the afternoon, and of consequence did not get home till between 10 and 11 o'clock at night, by which means she has caught a very bad cold, attended with a high fever. She was let blood last Fryday, and by the application of proper medicines am in some hopes it will go off.

September 20th. As the fall of the year comes on, and of consequence the days grow shorter, I find less leisure to write as well as less subject to write upon. The first thing which saluted my eyes this morning was six loads of straw (a certain prelude to more troops) repositing in a house and barn directly opposite us (formerly improv'd as barracks) to be in readiness for their use when they arrive. Last evening six or seven iron cannon were taken by some of the towns people from near Jno. Timmins' store, and put into a *mudscow*, or *Portsmouth pleasure boat*, with a view to carry up Cambridge river by the way of the Mill Pond; but the tide failing 'em in the creek, they were oblig'd to leave them there, where they were discover'd, and information sent to the Admiral, who sent a boat about 11 o'clock this forenoon and tow'd 'em along side his ship. Thus you may find *thieving* is encourag'd here, though trade is suppress'd.

September 21st. Am told this morning that Enoch Brown (who lives on the Neck) was passing the evening before last to his house near the encampment of the 59th, when he was abus'd by one of the centinels. He enter'd his complaint to the officer (the only resource to be had now, since we are reduc'd to a state of nature) who acquainted him, if he would attend the court-martial on the morrow, he should have *satisfaction*. He accordingly attended yesterday, but instead of *that*, he met with the most scurrilous abuse. The officers who sat as arbitors ask'd him what he wanted? He reply'd that he came to have satisfaction for the insult offer'd him the night before. They told him "there was the soldier; he might take it by boxing or pistolling with him, which he pleas'd; that he was a *dam'd rebel*, and would be hung upon the Neck before long; that nine tenths of the people in Boston were a pack of *dam'd rebels*, and would share the same fate." He had taken two evidences with him; one, a young fellow who attended his store, and the other a son of Nat. Barber's

at the North End. When he told 'em he came for satisfaction and not to be treated ill, they then ask'd him what satisfaction a *rebel* can expect, and who were those he had got with him? He told them they were his evidences, with their names. "What!" said they — "a son of that *dam'd rebel* at the North of the town! A pretty affair indeed, to bring a *rebel* as an evidence." After some other altercation he came off, and was oblig'd to put up with the treatment. Now, if this is the game they are going to play, we shall be in a fine situation all winter, especially when the others come, as without doubt the larger their numbers the more insolent they'll be.

Have just parted with young Barber, who came from the Camp a few minutes before, as his father had complain'd to the General in regard to the reflections cast upon him, who had been to the Camp with them to examine into the matter, but it seems that the Officers denied that ever they had said anything of the kind. So that Brown is as far from getting satisfaction as before, though his partner, as well as young Barber, are ready to give their oaths that they not only said as above but that they told Brown, that the Soldier was a better man than he, and that he did right to call *him* a Rebel, and further told the Soldier that if he call'd a hundred of y^e Boston people Rebels, he would be right in regard to ninety nine of them.

At a town meeting this morning they made choice of y^e same Members that serv'd the last court, and what's most extraordinary, they all had every vote, save Mr. Adams, who was only one deficient. After which, they went upon other business, and are now at 4 o'clock P.M. proceeding as formerly upon the town's business, without let or molestation from the Governour, though they conven'd the meeting without application for leave of him.

Captain Scott arriv'd yesterday at Salem in 7 weeks from London. He has brought a quantity of powder, which comes very seasonably at this time, as it's now five or six weeks since the Governor has allow'd any to be taken out of the magazine here, whereby for some weeks there has not been a pound to be sold or bought in town. He has likewise brought the Bell for Doctor Cooper's Meeting, which weighs 29 cwt. — the gift of the Hon. John Hancock, Esquire.

September 22nd. The town meeting continued through this day without interruption, when, among other matters transacted, they appointed Doctor Warren and Nath. Appleton as *temporary* members for the provincial Congress, *vice* Messrs. Adams and Cushing; for they imagine that no business will be done by the General Court

when conven'd at Salem, as the Governor, it's more likely than not, will not meet 'em there, nor can he adjourn 'em to this town till they are constituted a legislative body, and they won't submit to be sworn by the new Councillors, neither is it supposed that the Governor will allow them to be capacitated by the old ones. Therefore it's generally suppos'd they will adjourn themselves to Concord (where it is intended that y^e. *Provincial Congress* shall meet) and resolve themselves into *such a body*.

September 23rd. The Military are now busy in preparing frames, to erect barracks in the Common, for the accommodation of the troops now encamp'd there. Some days ago they contracted with *Thompson* of Mistick for a supply of bricks. He loaded one lighter to bring over, but by *some accident* or *other*, she sunk in the river. Since which his townsmen have taken the matter into consideration, whether he shall supply them or not. And the 21st, he was waited upon by a deputation from Woburn, a town just above Mistick, to desire he would desist from transporting any untill it should be determin'd in what way and manner it ought to be done, or whether it should be done at any rate; in order to which, a number of Delegates from all the neighboring towns are to meet in a day or two — as they think that others in the trade who are equally sufferers with him by the operation of the Port bill, ought to come in for some share of the advantage that may accrue from supplying them. Besides, they have it in contemplation whether to let them have them at all other than by way of land carriage, that they, with us, may experience *some trifle* of the *many* disadvantages arising from the *cursed Act*.

September 24th. Yours of the 19th inst. by Mr. Revere have just receiv'd. Am pleas'd with the approbation of the Congress to our proceedings. Am in haste, as Mr. Wilde is now waiting.

September 25th. As I write for your amusement rather than for my own emolument, I doubt not your candor will excuse any error you may observe either in diction or composition — and not pretending to any scholastic rules, I pen my ideas as freely as they flow. Neither do I mean to embellish my letters with apt quotations or improve another's sentiments for my own (as my memory is not sufficiently retentive for the first, nor is my inclination dispos'd to the last), other than that I endeavor, in relating facts (though express'd in my own mode), to conform as near to the truth as the best information I can get will admit of. Therefore if there's any fault, am

only chargeable myself. The preceding epistle of the 14th @ 24th, favored by Mr. Wilde, I imagine will afford you the earliest intelligence you can have from here of *late transactions*, provided he makes the dispatch he told me he should.

The last evening, Joseph Russell in his horse and chaise, together with Caleb Blanchard and Captain *Symmes*, who uses the London trade, were returning into town just after nine o'clock, pass'd five or six centinels till they came to the last before entering the town, who hail'd 'em, and they chusing not to answer, he stop'd the horse and demanded why they did not reply friend; when Capt. Symmes (being a rough spoken man) damn'd him for a scoundrel, and told him he was not his friend, and would not answer to him, and took the reins from Russell, and drove upon full gallop through y^e fortification. The fellow calling to the guard to stop the chaise, they turn'd out and thrust four bayonets into the horse's side. They immediately waited upon the General, who being in bed, they deferred it until next morning, when he told 'em that one of the soldiers was already under guard and the others should be taken care of, and if they would attend court martial next day, they should have justice done 'em. Russell reply'd that he did not chuse to attend to be insulted and ill-treated as one of his townsmen had been, referring to *Enoch Brown*. The Governor assur'd him he should be protected, and have full satisfaction, and indeed, as Russell acquainted me, said everything he could say; and in mitigation of Brown's treatment said they who us'd him so were not a proper constituted court.

The example of our *worthy* brethren of New York, in not letting their vessels for Government service, as well as that their Carpenters would not engage in any work for 'em, has induc'd the country people to think seriously whether they were right in supplying with timber, joice, and straw for the Barracks here. They accordingly met and determin'd in y^e negative; sent committees to the severall contractors to let them know if they supply'd any further they would incur the resentment of the *whole* country; and at the same time signified to our committee of correspondence that they did not think it eligible for the workmen here to go on with building barracks or preparing houses for the reception of the troops, as we might possibly, by persisting, not only incur blame from our sister colonies, but essentially affect the union now subsisting between town and country; which circumstance caus'd the Committee to get together Saturday P.M., when they pass'd a vote, that it was not prudent for y^e work-

men to go on with y^e frames, &ca., nor in any shape to contribute towards the accommodation of the soldiery, as they might themselves give offence to their country brethren. The purport of which coming to the Governor, he sent his compliments to the Select men, and beg'd their attendance at six o'clock this evening, when he requested of them that they would not take any measures to prevent the workmen from going on with the barracks. They reply'd it was not in their power to influence *the country*, and it lay principally with *them* whether the workmen should proceed or not: that they themselves were dispos'd to have the barracks go on, as they conceiv'd it much more for the benefit of the town (if the Soldiery must be here) to have them kept together, rather than to be *scatter'd* over the town, as in *that case* it would be a very difficult matter to keep them in order. The Governor seem'd a great deal worried about y^e affair, and am told that in the course of the conversation he express'd himself thus—"Good G—d! for G—d's sake, Gentlemen! they have got two months work to do, and the Soldiers ought to be in barracks in one. Do consider, Gentlemen!"—Thus the tables are in *some* measure turn'd. Formerly they solicited the Governor, but now it seems he solicits them. A pretty good mess for Sunday, Bill; don't you think it is?

September 26th. Sometime this day the Governor had a conference with Col: Hancock, requesting him to use his influence with the Committee to re-consider their vote respecting the barracks. The Colonel observ'd to him that he had taken every possible measure to distress us: that notwithstanding it was the Solicitor's opinion that the Act could be construed to prevent goods, &ca., being transported within y^e bounds of the harbour, yet he had not suffered it to be done, and the Ships of War had seiz'd whatever had been attempted to be transported in that manner. He likewise told him that he had been threat'ned, and apprehended his person was in danger, as it had been gave out by some of his people that he deserv'd to be hang'd: upon which the Governor told him he might have a guard, if he chose it, to attend him night and day. You will naturally conclude that he declin'd accepting.

September 27th. At four o'clock yesterday afternoon, the workmen *all* pack'd up their tools and left the barracks, frames, &ca.; so that I am apprehensive we in the town will feel ill effects of it, as it has been given out that the troops will force quarters next month, if barracks are not provided for 'em: neither should I blame them for

so doing, as the nights are so cold already, that it's impossible for 'em to sleep comfortable under their slight canvas tents. And as to empty houses, now since we have got so many refugees among us, there is not half sufficient to hold what troops we have got already here. After the carpenters had left off work, the General sent Col. Robinson and Major Sheriff to Mr. Hancock, to let him know if they would proceed with the barracks, he could suffer any thing to be transported within the limits of the harbour, under the sanction of *King's stores* — but all would not avail; as they *very justly* suppos'd, that after the work was compleated he would withdraw the indulgence, as he deems it, though in justice it not be prevented at all.

They have got the Carpenters from the Ships of War, and have sent an arm'd Schooner to Halifax for all the Artificers they can procure from there. It's *possible* they may be as averse to coming as the *Yorkers*.

Joseph Scott having sold a *large* quantity of Cannon Shot, Cohorns, Mortars, &ca., for the use of the Army; this afternoon they took away ten cart-loads of the former, which has, *with great reason*, caus'd much uneasiness among the inhabitants, who forbid the carriers not to transport any more upon their peril. One of the Committee expostulated with Scott upon the subject, who pretended that the *Government* had a right to them, as they were made for their *use* last War — a pitifull excuse indeed! to justify a man that furnishes an enemy with ammunition to destroy his own townsmen, countrymen, or I may say his own brethren. The Gentleman of the Committee observ'd to him that he did not think *even* those men, pointing to a number of Soldiers in *his* shop, would be guilty of such an action, upon which they immediately reply'd "*that they would not.*"

September 28th. Captain Calef arriv'd from London last night. He left there the 4th ultimo, and Admiral Montague arriv'd the 2d; but has brought no news of any importance, as the letters by him were to undergo the inspection of the Admiralty office; therefore the subject of them could not have transpired so as to cause much speculation before he came away. It's imagin'd by the passengers, that if Calef had stay'd a few days longer, they would have taken most of the goods out of him again, as Governor Hutchinson had represented matters in such a light (and by help of the *address, however infamous*) as to lull their suspicions altogether, and make them believe that the *Tea* was paid for, and that the new regulations would take place

without *any* opposition. So that they had executed orders that were only conditional, whereby the four ships already arriv'd, came as full as they could store.

About nine o'clock A.M. a company of the train came down to *Scott's* for the remainder of the shot, hand Granades, Cohorns, &ca., in consequence of which some of the Committee waited on *him*. He told them that he had not sold 'em (though Col. Cleveland, who commands the train, and was the whole forenoon about the neighbourhood, declar'd that the business was not of their seeking; that Scott had repeatedly solicited them to take 'em, and as they were *now* the King's property, he had it in orders from the General to take the remainder; and have them they must, at all events), and would refuse to let them have the remainder. He accordingly went and told the Officer not to take any more at his peril, that he disavow'd the proceeding and order'd his cellar door to be lock'd; upon which the officer return'd with half his men, and left the others as a guard. When about noon, they came down with about 100 men and 8 or 10 officers, with a number of *fatigue men* with hand barrows, with about thirty tackled in one of their field carriages with a box fix'd on, when proceeded up the court and brought away about fifty or sixty cohorns. After which, they return'd with a carpenter, broke open the cellar door, and were constantly employ'd in carrying shot, &ca., till nearly sunset, which they repositied in the South battery, having improv'd that as a magazine for some time past: the only articles remaining of the *purchase* being two carriage guns, which caus'd 'em two trips more. The countrymen that happen'd to be in town, seem'd to be more enrag'd than the townspeople, whose passions were full high enough likewise. One of the former, seeing Scott standing near his shop, told him if he would come across the gutter, he would be the death of him, and think in so doing, he should do God service.

September 29th. Sometime last night they gave Scott a *Hilborough treat*, and not content with disfiguring the outside of his shop, they by help of a ladder open'd his chamber window and emptied several buckets full into it. Should be glad for the *honor* of the town, that they would leave off such *beastly* practices—as there many *much* better ways of showing their resentment.

Yesterday Captain Llyde sailed for London, from Salem, in whom Josiah Quincy went passenger. It was not known that he was to be her passenger till he went on board to set sail. Upon enquiry, am

told that he is gone upon publick business, with proper credentials from the Congress, and that a deputy is to go, or have already gone, from each of the provinces, in the same secret manner. Am much pleas'd with the plan, as I make no doubt it will be attended with great benefit to the continent, and may expedite measures for *our* relief—for to continue long in the state we are now in, is shocking to think of. In the course of a day or two past, the Roxbury people have burnt several load of straw that was bringing in here, which has enrag'd the soldiers to such a degree, that I am in continual apprehension we shall soon experience another *fifth of March*, which God forbid! for should such a thing take place, it must be attended with fatal consequences; as the only expedient would be for the inhabitants to remove themselves and effects out of the town—when the country would instantly avail themselves of the advantage, and would indeed rejoice at the opportunity, to stop a supply of provisions, whereby those remaining in the town together with the innocent Soldiers, would share one common fate, or move off.

September 30th. In the afternoon of yesterday, a boat from the *Lively* (which ship, by the way, is under sailing Orders to carry the first news of what may be determin'd by the Congress) seiz'd a parcell of Merchandize to the amount of about fifty pounds, lawful money, which were a dozen firelocks, the property of Mr. Phillips of Andover. He waited on Captain Bishop to obtain a release of them; but most people would be glad to have the matters come to a tryal, in order to have it determin'd whether they have a right to seize any article, transported across the harbor, or not.

October 1st. It's common for the Soldiers to fire at a target fix'd in the stream at the bottom of the *common*. A countryman stood by a few days ago, and laugh'd very heartily at a whole regiment's firing, and not one being able to hit it. The officer observ'd him, and ask'd why he laugh'd? Perhaps you'll be affronted if I tell you, reply'd the countryman. No, he would not, he said. *Why then*, says he, I laugh to see how awkward they fire. *Why*, I'll be bound I hit it ten times running. Ah! will you, reply'd the officer; come try: Soldiers, go and bring five of the best guns, and load 'em for this honest man. Why, you need not bring so many: let me have any one that comes to hand, reply'd the other, but I chuse to load *myself*. He accordingly loaded, and ask'd the officer where he should fire? He reply'd, to the right—when he pull'd tricker, and drove the ball as near the right as possible. The officer was amaz'd—and said he

could not do it again, as that was only by chance. He loaded again. Where shall I fire? *To the left*—when he perform'd as well as before. Come! once more, says the officer.—He prepar'd the third time.—Where shall I fire *naow*?—*In the Center*.—He took aim, and the ball went as exact in the middle as possible. The officers as well as soldiers *star'd*, and tho't the Devil was in the man. *Why*, says the countryman, I'll tell you *naow*. I have got a *boy* at home that will toss up an apple and shoot out all the seeds as its coming down.

The Country towns, in general, have chose their own officers, and muster for exercise once a week at least—when the parson as well as the Squire stands in the Ranks with a firelock.—In particular at Marblehead, they turn out three or four times a week, when Col. Lee as well as the Clergymen there are not asham'd to appear in the ranks, to be taught the manual exercise, in particular.

One more anecdote, and I'll close this *barren day*. When the 59th Regiment came from Salem, and were drawn up on each side the *Neck*, a remarkable tall countryman, near eight feet high, strutted between 'em, at the head of his waggon, looking *very* sly and contemptuously on one side and t'other; which attracted the notice of the whole regiment.—Ay, ay, says he, you don't know what *boys* we have got in the country. I am near nine feet high, and one of the smallest among 'em—which caus'd much merriment to the spectators, as well as surprise to the soldiers. Indeed, Bill! were I to tell you of all the jokes and wittisisms of the Country people, I would have little else to do.

October 2d. Yesterday a Serjent and eight men of the Royal Welch fusileers were to be try'd at a Court martial for endeavoring to make their escape from the Regiment, with two others who betray'd 'em: their intentions were to go off in a body, and take the standards with them.

October 3rd. Am told the general has assur'd the respective Regiments this day, that they shall go into barracks in three days, as they were very apprehensive of a mutiny; the hard service and bad accommodations having rais'd great discontents among them. But where he means to provide for 'em, I don't know, as they can't get a workman here, though they have offer'd so high as two and three dollars a day, or even any price at all, if ever so extravagant; as they are oblig'd to dismiss the Carpenters they had from the ships, being very ignorant of the method of framing and indeed of any sort of work that they wanted done.

October 4th. Yesterday afternoon our honorable and ancient Artillery company turn'd out, and for want of a better place they march'd down to Cop's hill, where they went through their several manœuvres to the satisfaction of every one, and really made a much more respectable appearance than they formerly us'd to. Their fifes and drums, when near the hill, alarm'd the *Lively*, which lays near the ferry; and when they had got upon the hill, in sight of the Ship, the Boatswain's whistle call'd all hands upon deck, the marines with their firelocks were fix'd upon the quarter, the ports open'd with a spring upon their cables, the round tops man'd, and a boat man'd and sent out upon each side to reconnoitre. Such was the terror they were in, from the appearance of about fifty *pompions* in arms. At about five o'clock they remarched into Kingstreet, where they perform'd their evolutions with the greatest propriety and exactness; much more so, in my opinion, than any performances of the troops since they've been here.

October 5th. The dispositions of the people in the Country are in general so restless, that they are continually sending Committees down upon one errand or other—which has caus'd the Governor to say, that he can do very well with the Boston Selectmen, but the damn'd country committees plague his soul out, as they are very obstinate and hard to be satisfied. This day a deputation of twelve came to town with a *very* spirited remonstrance from the *body* of Worcester County, which consists of five and forty towns; where they have incorporated *seven regiments* consisting of a thousand men each, chose their officers, and turn out twice a week to perfect themselves in the military art—which are call'd *minute men*, i.e., to be ready at a minute's warning with a fortnight's provision, and amunition and arms.

At Newbury bridge they have got an Old Man fix'd with a drum, who, as soon as he observes a *Government* man enter, parades with his drum beating and proclaims through the town "a tory come to town," &c.

October 6th. A Committee is expected in town some time today, from the general assembly to his excellency, who are met at Salem, notwithstanding the governor's prorogation, among whom a number of the old *Constitutional* Councillors are conven'd. Yesterday met at *Plymouth*, the *body* of that county, to the number of about four thousand, when they proceeded to make *all* the addressors and protestors there make a publick recantation. After which, they attempted to

remove a Rock (the one on which their fore-fathers first landed, when they came to this country) which lay buried in a wharfe five feet deep up into the center of the town, near the court house. The way being *up hill*, they found it impracticable, as after they had dug it up, they found it to weigh ten tons at least. A modern instance of Superstition, Bill!

October 7th. One consolation afforded us by our people's refusing to build Barracks, is that they are fitting up the Block houses &c., at the *Castle*, for the reception of the expected Regiments, as well as that they keep the 64th Regiment also there, which was intended to have been quarter'd in town, had the barracks been built. Ben. Davis has let his store, on the Dock, for the use of the troops, and George Spooner his also, which lays near it; so that all those who improve Stores there are upon the look out to remove, they being determin'd so to do, rather than be in the midst of them.

October 8th. We were this morning *bless'd* with the *agreeable* sight of about twenty soldiers, with their tools, &c., ready to go to work upon the store opposite the front of our house, formerly improv'd as barracks; so that we are like to have a *fine* time of it, all winter.

October 9th. Breck arriv'd home on fryday evening, but his trunk not coming to hand, I did not receive your favor, by him, till last night. Am oblig'd for your intentions of being more particular, and can very easily make an allowance for the hurry of business, as I have formerly experienc'd it myself; nor is my wishes wanting to have such an excuse to plead now. But, alas! Bill, our condition is *undescribable*. Cole's wife, I imagine, has been in your city some-time, as she went from here three or four weeks since, from whence she is to embark with *her husband* and children for England, *who* has let his ship to Captain Holland (a gentleman who has been this way near seven years, taking a survey of the Continent) to convey him and his family to Philadelphia, with whom Cole takes passage likewise, and after her discharge proceeds with her to England or Scotland, where he proposes making a long tarry. He din'd with us last week, and acquainted us that Mrs. Le Cand, upon account of the troubles here, had put off her intentions of coming for a twelvemonth, which information he had from Joe, who has had five or six letters from her since she left here. Therefore the *excuse* of masters of vessells not being willing to take letters is altogether idle.

When she was here, we were together at Cole's store, where she

saw some *fine* sealing wax, said *Mr. Fooks* had been looking for some such a long time (it being after *he* had returned to Philadelphia), that she would take it all, five dollars worth, for him, and he would send the money for it, when she got back to your city — but by *intention* or *forgetfulness* it never was sent. Coles' lad, being there in a vessell of his last winter, apply'd to Mr. Fooks for it, who acquainted him that he had already paid Mrs. Le Cand for it, and that otherways he was *largely* in advance for her and therefore should not pay it.

October 10th. Am told, there are great dissentions among the Committee at New York, and that they have voted to supply General Gage with whatever he may want; in consequence of which, Carpenters are coming from there to build barracks. — If true, and they are suffer'd to proceed, the matter is settled with us, for it is with the greatest difficulty that the country are restrain'd from coming in even now. As to the Quarel of the New York Committee, it is notorious. Have inclos'd you a *New Catalogue* of the names of the Addressors and protestors, which are bought up by the country people with the greatest avidity. You'll observe that the Compilers have a better opinion of the *little pope* than to rank them with such a class of men.

October 13th. Governor Hutchinson having ship'd twelve field pieces on board Captain Robson for the use of this province, which were voted by the house two years since, and the money paid into the Speaker's hands to procure 'em, but a *difficulty* arising in England in regard to the sending them, *which* Governor Hutchinson has *remov'd* since he has been home — but the proprieter in London has consign'd them to William Pepperill, one of the new Councillors, with orders not to deliver them till the money is forthcoming; in consequence of which, am told the General has this day sent a Ship of War to Salem, to order the ship to the Castle immediately upon her arrival at Salem, and there to unlade the Cannon.

October 14th. A Committee from the provincial Congress waited upon the Governor this afternoon, with an address or remonstrance. He treated them very politely, but would not allow it to be read to him. He told them he would consider whether he could admit of an address from a provincial congress. Colonel Lee of Marblehead, their chairman, told him, that admit or not admit, times were such now, that something *must* be done, and that it was *highly* necessary that they should be heard and regarded. Upon which his Excellency told him he would take it as a favor if he would leave it for his perusal, and he would endeavor to give them all the satisfaction in his power, consistant with his duty to his Majesty.

October 15th. The Committee of ways and means have been flinging up a dyke to prevent the water from flowing upon the brick yards on the Neck, and as the 59th incampment lays near them, the Soldiery are preparing the ground to set up pickets across the Neck, to prevent the Soldiers from deserting, as they embrace every opportunity and go off very fast, being sure of protection in the country. Yesterday in the afternoon, they carried their line across the dyke, and began to cut through it; which being observ'd, the people at work there immediately dispatch'd a messenger to the Select men, when Samuel Austin went and forbid the commanding officer to proceed at his peril; upon which a very warm contest ensued, when Austin step'd into the breach and declar'd he would lose his life before another spade should be stuck in the ground, and that unless the officer would promise upon his honor that he would desist, whiles he, Austin, waited upon the General, he would bring the country upon them immediately. The officer complied, and he accordingly waited upon the Governor, who directly order'd the principal engineer to take horse and immediately order the breach to be fill'd up again and put in the same condition as before.

We are all wisling for a re-establishment of peace and harmony, both the Soldiery and Inhabitants, but am afraid, Bill, it is further off than we imagine, as they are taking up transports in England to send over six more regiments. God grant there may not be any blood shed! in the sincerity of which wish I subscribe myself your affectionate friend and brother.

P. S. You don't mention having received the letter I sent you by Mr. Glover, though you have acknowledg'd the receipt of two succeeding ones.

October 16th, Sunday. The chief felicity of Man's life, in my opinion, consists in being bless'd with a virtuous mind, domestic happiness, and the good will of the community where he resides, together with a competent fortune. The last concomitant may be deem'd by some as no ways necessary to happiness, but as a good mind and generous heart are ever inseparable, it must afford a peculiar satisfaction to one *so bless'd*, to have it in his power to relieve the necessities of those whom the Almighty has thought fit to place in a station of life that may require it — and the good will of our neighbours, as well as peace at home, are essential requisites for the enjoyment of those blessings that all mankind are seeking after, and may tend to compose our minds to such a frame as is highly necessary for our future well being.

Upon reading the above, you may possibly say, *Jack* has turn'd moralist — but the thoughts of what we *now*, and are like to suffer, gave rise to the above reflections — and, however different our sentiments may be, from the general conduct of the people, every day's experience tells me that not only *good* policy, but our own quiet, absolutely depends upon a *bare* acquiescence at *least*. Therefore I esteem them *very* blameable who have persisted in an opposition to them, as *vox populi, vox Dei* — and their resentment is so great in return, that it's a chance whether (if their struggles should produce better times) they will ever admit of *such* passing their future days uninterrupted among 'em. My last of 25th ultimo to 15th Instant, will be handed you by Mr. Edward Hill, a pupil of John Adams's, Esquire.

October 17th. The return of one Mr. Dyar, who was kidnapp'd, put in irons, and sent home in the ship that carried Admiral Montague, causes much speculation here — as by his affidavit, taken before the Lord Mayor (which is sent by Sheriff Lee to Mr. Hancock) wherein he declares that Colonel Maddison of the King's *Own* Regiment promised him rewards and endeavor'd to entice him to say that Colonel Hancock, &ca., were the instigators of, and immediately concern'd in, the destruction of the *Tea*. He also says that the Admiral, on his passage, us'd many arguments to perswade him to the same thing. As he was a seafaring man, his wife nor family did not know of his being gone in that manner, but, by his absence, suppos'd he was gone a voyage that he had been engag'd for. His account of the matter is, that he having said that he knew all about and who were concern'd in the destruction of tea — being an artfull fellow and one who pretends to know every thing — in consequence of which, he was seiz'd by two soldiers in a remote, retir'd part of the town, and convey'd to the camp, where he was kept shackled till the ship sail'd. It was known to many, though it never came to my knowledge, that a man was carried home for enticing the Soldiers to desert, which was the reason they *then* gave for his being taken up.

Am told that Colonel Hancock and Colonel Maddison have had an interview upon the subject — and that the latter has fully satisfied the former that what the fellow has alledged is *absolutely* false; tho' that he was carried home, and in the manner here related, is beyond dispute.

October 18th. The above mentioned Dyar having declar'd since he came home, that if he could not have publick satisfaction for his

extraordinary treatment, he would take it personally; — in consequence of which resolution, about noon this day, he made up to Colonel Cleveland of the train and Captain Montresor, Engineer, who were standing together in the main Street, just above *Liberty tree*, and inquir'd if the former was not Colonel Maddison. He understood they said yes (but they told him no), and being provided with a pair of pistols loaded with bullets, he presented one at Colonel *Cleveland's* head and the other at Captain Montresor's. It very luckily happen'd that the former flash'd in the pan, and the other only snap'd. Disappointed at his ill success, or rather diabolical scheme, he seiz'd and drew the *former's* cutlass out of its sheath, and made a stroke at his head. The Colonel elevated his arm, and fortunately receiv'd the blow upon one of the buttons on the sleeve of his coat, which diverted the edge in such a manner, as that the blade glanced down by the side of his head and gave him *only* a small wound in the neck, and splitt the *favorable* button in two. Captain Montresor ran behind a cart to escape his fury, upon which he flung the pistols at him and run off flourishing the Colonel's cutlass, and proceeded directly to Cambridge and went into the room where the *provincial Congress* were sitting, and told them he had got one of the swords that Lord North had sent over to kill 'em with. When they came to know what he had been doing, they immediately sent for an officer and committed him.

October 19th. By the return of *Revere*, am a little easier in regard to matters, as I hope the resolves of the *Continental Congress*, brought by him, will have some influence upon the councils of the *provincial one*, and check their impetuous zeal.

October 20th. This day the trial came on before the court of Admiralty respecting the seizure of a *Mud scow* for *daring to convey a few effects over to an Island, within the limits of the harbour*. The Admiral, conscious of his having done wrong, and apprehensive that judgment would be gave against him, made interest to have the court adjourn'd without any reasonable plea — but at the same time told the injur'd owner he might, if he would, take the scow, &ca., again. They likewise let a boatload of wood come up from Hingham, and told the skipper he might have brought it up ever since the harbour had been shut, if he had not been *a fool* — as d — d a lye as ever was told — when they've all along prevented even the produce of the islands within the harbour being brought up to town, such as potatoes, &ca. Am told they find it difficult to get a supply of wood for the troops,

and that they have engag'd most of the piles that the wharfingers have laid up for a winter supply for the poor. I laid in my winter's stock last week, which cost me nearly twenty dollars more than formerly it used to.

October 21st. In every respect, I find this town are sufferers, as the Carpenters are not only coming from New York, but a parcell have already arriv'd from Portsmouth, New Hampshire — whereby our own workmen are starving, when they might have had a dollar a day for as long as they would work — and others come, and are benefitted by it. Such has in general been the *policy* of this town. The Committee of ways and means have not as yet reallis'd the value of two thousand pounds sterling from *all* the donations that they have receiv'd — which, you must be very sensible, *Bill*, will go but a very little ways towards maintaining so numerous a body of men as are now out of employ by the operation of *port bill* — more especially over a tedious winter.

October 22nd. After surviving a fit of apoplexy two days, at six o'clock this morning died that *zealous* advocate for American liberties, William Molineaux. If he was too rash, and drove matters to an imprudent pitch, it was owing to his natural temper; as when he was in business, he pursued it with the same *impetuous* zeal. His loss is not much regretted by the more prudent and judicious part of the community.

October 23rd. This day arriv'd the four transport ships from New York, with the 47th Regiment, &ca., on board. Where they intend to quarter 'em, I can't learn, as they have already taken up all the empty houses in town, which are hardly sufficient for the eight Regiments already here, who are still in camp.

October 24th. On Saturday evening a man was badly wounded by one of the guard at Charlestown ferry house. Complaint was made to the General, who immediately order'd the Guard to be reliev'd and taken into custody, and assur'd the friends of the sufferer that they should have satisfaction, by a fair tryal, this day.

October 25th. By a vessel just arriv'd from Bristol, we have accounts rather more favorable than heretofore, as they now begin to view the Port Bill in its *true* light, and have opened subscriptions, both in London and Bristol, for the relief of this town. Am told that one Alderman in the former city put down five hundred pounds sterling — which circumstance has serv'd, in a great measure, to compose the minds of the people here, as one third of the inhabitants, by reason

of things looking very dark lately, are in pursuit of houses in the country, in order to remove with their families. A great many are already gone, and others are removing daily — which I think a *mad* scheme altogether, and am determin'd for my own part, not to think of any thing of the kind, but to stay here as long as I can get provisions to eat, and can go and come where I please. *Breck* is determin'd among the rest to leave town. Have made use of every argument I was capable of, for a fortnight past, to dissuade him from it, but can't prevail, as he views matters in such a *dismal* light, as that he is obstinately bent upon going.

October 26th. We have had so remarkable a fine season that many bushes that had lost their leaves, are rebudded again — and in some Gardens in town they have trees that are in blossom; this, and several preceeding days, have been as warm as in June.

October 29th. Last evening one of the transport ships arriv'd from Quebeck with *more* troops. Was in hopes, as the season was so far advanc'd, that they would have been oblidg'd to have taken up their residence for the winter there — but I find ev'ry thing tends to promote our having a *blessed* winter of it: that is, *blessed* with having twelve regiments, of *Devils* I was going to say, among's — *blessed* with having them dispos'd in almost every other house in town — *bless'd* with having their enrag'd tempers to deal with, caus'd by the *ill-judg'd* policy of few among us.

Such has been the fate of *thousands!* but hard to tell
If for such ill-concerted plans, we fare so well.

Where *wisdom* rules, and reason bears the sway,
And *prudent conduct* governs all they say,
Then *mighty* zeal, upheld by patriot rules,
Unaw'd by power, nor check'd by *timid* fools —
Must — by *reason's right*, as well by *nature's laws*,
Overcome the *tyrant*, and support the *Cause*.

So much for *Liberty* strain, Bill — the poetical vein having just taken me; perhaps tomorrow (being a very fickle genius) I may breath different sentiments, as like causes don't always produce the same effects.

Our provincial congress have adjourn'd themselves for three weeks. Had much rather they were dissolv'd — as they are principally compos'd of spirited, obstinate countrymen, who have *very* little patience to boast of. Am therefore much afraid they will adopt measures that may impede the adjustment of our differences — as the more prudent among 'em bear but a small proportion. They have follow'd the

example of the Continental congress and kept all their debates and transactions to themselves. All we can learn is, that they have several times agitated the matter about requesting the inhabitants of this town to leave it: which is as absurd as it is impracticable. Several times since their sitting it is likewise been reported, that they were about establishing a standing army to be compos'd of fifteen thousand men: a scheme not only ridiculous, but fraught with a degree of madness at this juncture.

It has been given out by some of the members, that they have prepar'd a pill for the governor. I hope not, from my soul, as there is no man existing could behave better than he has done, considering the difficult part he has to act. As to removing the cannon from the Neck, no reasonable man can blame him for it, when they consider how many hostile threats he has had. For should he comply, and by that means be surpriz'd and worsted, he must inevitably lose his head. Not that I am in the least apprehensive that he would be attack'd — but then it's his duty to guard against *even* a bare possibility — though it may be represented to him as improbable, and as such he may believe it.

Sunday the 30th October. Last evening an affray happen'd at New Boston with three or four drunken officers of the 28th Regiment, who to support their character abus'd every person they met by cutting some and beating others, when at last they met with one Thomas Moore, a noted man for Cruizing, whom they fell'd at the first onset. He found them too many for him, and being without a cudgel, he fled into Ned Carne's house, and they after him. He got out the back way, and crossing the fences came to his own house in Battle street, furnish'd himself with a club and two assistants, and return'd to the charge. He met them by Chardon's house, and told 'em it was his turn now, and fell to and beat them pretty decently — took three of their swords and one hat as booty. — Thus in ev'ry affray as yet the officers have been the aggressors and came off *second* best.

October 31st. Am in hopes tomorrow will produce some plan to preserve peace and harmony among the Soldiers and inhabitants, as the Governor is then to send in his proposals to the town meeting for such a purpose, in consequence of the measure being propos'd to him last Sunday by Mr. Richardson. He readily acquiesc'd with it, and said he would confer with any committee the town might chuse. They accordingly made choice of seven, who have negotiated the matter, and are to make report of their proceeding and lay the govern-

or's proposal before them. I think it a degree of condesention we could not have expected from the Governor, as he not only permits the meeting, contrary to the express letter of the Act — but rather promotes it by holding a conference with them when assembled in that capacity.

November 1st. Tomorrow come, but no good effects have arisen from the Governor's proposal, as a discontented *few*, who make it their principal to keep up *the Ball*, by their influence among the popularity, rais'd a party, and caus'd the whole day to be pass'd in altercation, and eventually, set the matter aside — under a notion of preserving the dignity of the town, and that it was derogatory to their honor to treat with the governor in his Military capacity — tho' his excellency propos'd, among other things, that the Soldiers should not be permitted to wear side arms, but upon duty. The affair of burning the vessel with tea at Maryland has elevated their spirits — and caus'd an *indignant* smile at the *feeble* efforts of tyranny.

November 2nd. Last evening the Overseers of the poor here, as is their custom, took up the *Mistress*, or house keeper of one Wiswall, a shoemaker (who formerly belong'd to Cambridge, but since the troops have been here has got to work for one of the Regiments and remov'd into town, where he has kept a house of ill fame for some time past), and committed her to the charge of a constable, to be deliver'd to the care of another constable at Charlestown, and so on till they get her to the town from whence she came ; — upon which Wiswall apply'd to the Colonel of the Regiment, and told him they had taken away his wife because he work'd for them. In consequence of which, the Colonel immediately orders a guard of men in pursuit of her, who came up with her at Charlestown and forcibly took her from the Constables and convey'd her to the Camp. Upon application of the Gentlemen Overseers to the General, he not only order'd her to be deliver'd immediately — but *very* severely reprimanded the Colonel for meddling in the matter — and likewise thoroughly assur'd, as well as convinc'd, the Overseers and Selectmen, that he was more dispos'd to support the *civil* or *Common Law*, than *Military Law* in this town.

November 3rd. In consequence of an adjournment from Tuesday the town met this day, and made choice of a *new* Committee to consider of *some* plan to preserve the peace of the town ; by increasing the number of watchmen, &c.

November 4th. Am told the General is determin'd to send two or three Officers home, who were the principals in this affray of Satur-

day night last, in order to make their punishment the more exemplary.

November 5th. Last evening they burnt at Charlestown a hogsh-head and barrell of Tea, the property of one Graham, a Scotsman, who lives at May place on the Neck of Land. The hogshhead was stow'd as full as it could hold, and the barrell contained parcels done up 1 to 2 oz. bundles for a conveniency to retail.

Sunday the 6th November. This day sail'd for London his Majesty's Schooner St. Lawrence, in which went passenger that *stanch friend to Government* (as the tories call themselves) Ingersol of Great Barrington. She was to have sail'd a week ago, but waited till now, to carry the resolves of the Congress.

November 9th. By the Association of the Congress I observe they recommend it, that no one shall advance the price of their goods in consequence of the non-importation agreement. Now, whether we shan't be justified in doing it, when we have had so scanty a supply in compare with the other provinces, as well considering the *enormous* expence we are at to get our goods from Salem, being more than equal to the freight from England; but more especially in regard to the high price of provisions, being oblig'd to pay from 11d. to 15d. a pound for Butter, 1 shilling a dozen for Eggs, 6d a pound for Turkeys, 2 shillings to 3 shillings a pair for fowls, 5d. for Beef, 14 shillings for Cyder, with every thing else in proportion, together 53 shillings 4 pence to 60 shillings for brown sugar, 13d. for Loaf ditto, and hardly to be got at that: all in consequence of our new-comers, whose servants go into the market and give any price they, are ask'd.

November 10th. Last evening the Congress arriv'd, together with Esquire Loring, who deliver'd me two demands upon Officers which he could not get paid at York, together with your letter of the 26th ultimo inclosing two other demands—all which will endeavor to attend to. At present it's impossible to find 'em out (among such an innumerable number as we have here, not less than five hundred to be sure) as they have not as yet got into Lodgings, being on board the transports—and as the policy of the town don't admit of an intercourse with any of 'em, it's out of my power to find out by enquiring of others, as I have not the least acquaintance with one among 'em—though Ruthy has been complimented with a couple Cards to attend a Concert for the season (by an Officer's wife who improves the front part of the house which Old *Dana* formerly liv'd in—in gratitude

for many favors they've received of us in the lending and giving way for four months past) which she politely declin'd accepting. She's the prettiest woman among 'em all — but no soisability as yet with her.

November 11th. Yesterday a man on board one of the Transports cut his throat from ear to ear. His being detected in stealing grease was the cause of his committing so horrid an act — as he said he had lost his character, and therefore was asham'd to live any longer. Should not care if some other people in both England and America were moved with the same compunction to rid themselves of the world and the world of them.

November 12th. Both Hancock's and Long Wharfs are lin'd with Transports, which have on board the 47th, 52nd, 18th, 16th and 10th Regiments — which are oblig'd to remain on these, as they've not as yet got barracks provided for 'em.

Sunday, November 13th. The Soldiers that are in encampment are so much expos'd to the weather, that their women and children die off very fast: which has caus'd the General to order the workmen that they work all this day upon the Barracks.

November 14th. Many among us were about promoting plays this winter, but it seems the Governor won't even admit of assemblies — as upon application made to him for that purpose, he replied that it was no times to encourage any thing of the kind, more especially as many of the officers could not afford the expence, and said he had already had *too* many complaints of their not paying their debts.

November 15th. This day we have had a general *flurry*, as all the troops have gone into barracks, both from the Ships and encampments — that it is hop'd the Cowes will once more have the priviledge of grazing upon the Common. Have been three times down to the vessel, and have not been able to find any of your gentry of the 18th — and this forenoon went to their barracks (being your Uncle Green's Distil house) but could find no Officer there but a Quarter Master.

November 16th. The Barracks, though occupied, are by no means made convenient for want of materials, as no lumber of any kind is allow'd to be bro't either by land or water; every town having a committee to look out. And several vessells have been burnt at the Eastward, whose masters have had the temerity to contract with the Barrack master for to supply 'em. One skipper, not long since, who had bro't 'em several load of wood, told them he believ'd he could pick up a load of boards for 'em at several different harbours.

They accordingly agreed to give him a large price for as many as he could procure. He finally got near a load, by keeping his intentions to himself; but coming up, he put into Portsmouth harbour, where they by accident discover'd who his load was for—whereupon a number seiz'd and drag'd him thro' all the gutters in town. His obstinacy induc'd them to threaten that they would drown him if he did not comply with their injunctions, and accordingly drag'd him down to the water's edge, when the fear of their putting their threat in execution extorted a confession from him, that he would agree to and sign any obligation that they should see fit to draw up.

As to bricks, they were necessitated to buy an old house down at point Shirley—which by the expence of pulling down, cleaning, &ca., the bricks stood 'em in at the rate of two Guineas *m̄*. They proffer'd four dollars a *m̄* for all that the *industrious* poor have made on the Neck under the inspection of the Committee of *ways and means*, but was told that they dare not let 'em have them *at any price*, least they should offend their country brethren—for want of *which*, the chimneys in the barracks are so ill-secur'd, that the Barrack Master says that he shan't be surpris'd if fire breaks out in 'em *very often*. So that, in addition to other calamities, we are likely to be expos'd to the dreadful one of *fire*—whereby not only our property but lives will be endanger'd.

November 17th. The town have finally chose a Committee to settle some plan for the preservation of peace among us, who have had several conferences with the Governor upon the subject, whereby they have adopted a measure perfectly pleasing to him and agreeable to themselves, though the publick are not as yet made acquainted with it. One consequence already resulting from it is, that none of the Soldiers, save those on duty, appear in the streets with side arms.

November 18th. This day saw Lieutenant Blackwood, who has accepted the draft, and promises me he will pay it at the end of 30 days. I likewise saw Captain Shee, who was upon duty at the main guard. The man is either paralytic or was in great trepidation at sight of the draft, as he not only trembled but stutter'd prodigiously. Not having pen and ink handy, he told me if I would suspend the demand a few days he would pay it without any previous sight, though he seem'd to make very strange of it, and pretended not to know Griffin, and then said he had left orders with Mr. Shee or Duchey to pay it there.

November 19th. General Gage's conduct has been so very unex-

ceptionable of late, that the most flaming Sons among us can't but speak well of him—for let the Selectmen or any respectable inhabitant of town wait upon him at any hour, though he may be ever so busy or engag'd in company, he is always ready to attend to them as long as they please, and that with the utmost chearfulness. But the poor refugee councellers are oblig'd to walk the entry for hours before they can be admitted to audience—that I really believè he despises them from his heart.

November 20th. Doctor Cooper gave us a funeral sermon this afternoon on the death of Thomas Gray, in the latter part of which, in relating his behaviour and sayings before his exit, he drew tears from most of his audience. As Mr. Gray's conduct through life was unexceptionable (save in his zeal for the preservation, or good of the town, he was led to express himself rather too bitterly) so his death is greatly lamented, as a publick loss, for, take him all in all, he has left *few* equals behind him. He has died possess'd of about ten thousand pounds sterling, two thousand three hundred of which he has left by will to your Aunt Jeny Green, and after her decease to devolve to her children: his real estate, to the value of two or three thousand, to his brother Bill Gray: five hundred sterling each to his half brothers the treasurer and Colonel Jackson: the like sum to be divided between his half sister Blake's children who are much in want of it; as well as the like sum to Benjamin Gray, only surviving son to his brother Edward: a thousand sterling to Ellis Gray and a thousand lawful money to Edward, with five hundred sterling to their sister Mrs. Cary, as also a hundred sterling to their mother, with a legacy of fifty pounds sterling to Doctor Cooper and the like sum to the poor of the Church. I forgot to mention the like sum of fifty pounds to his brother John, as a token of affection rather than an emolument to him, as he conceiv'd him to be so wealthy as not to stand in need of a larger bequeath. His brother Bill and young Ellis are left executors, who together with Ned are appointed residuary legatees.

November 21st. The action of the *Portsmouth pleasure boat* or Gondalo, so long depending before the Admiralty Court, was finally determin'd last week in favor of the claimant—when the judge declar'd that they had no right by virtue of the port Bill to stop or molest any boats carrying merchandize, &ca., within the limits of the harbour. Thus you may see how long we have been gull'd.

November 22nd. The spirited behaviour of the Eastward people in

not suffering the contractors to supply the Barrack Master with wood, whereby (by its being indulg'd to enter the harbour without stopping at Marblehead or Salem) it came much cheaper to them than what the poor of the town could be supplied at—has at last induc'd our *Lords* and *Masters* to permit *all* vessells bringing wood to come up to town without previously unlading at either of the above places.

November 23rd. I waited upon Captain Hammilton* with your compliments and presented your Note for payment. He made answer that he should write Mr. Griffin by the post, and ask'd me if I was going to write you likewise: if I was, he would write you also. I told him I intended it, the first private opportunity that offer'd, when I would let him know. Upon the whole, he don't seem to have any intention of paying the Note.

November 24th. The article of *Sand* being very scarce by its not being suffer'd to be brought up as usual, whereby the women are very dissatisfied, as they have to give $\frac{1}{4}$ lawful money a bushel for that that's very bad and dirty.

November 25th. Some few days since they withdrew the Guards from Charlestown ferry, as their frequent desertion from their post has discourag'd the continuance of them.

November 26th. Since the troops have been in barracks, there has been several children, as well as men, broke out with the small pox among 'em, who are all remov'd to the Pest house at New Boston.

November 27th. The poor *Mandamus* Councillors are in a miserable plight, as they are *even* afraid of the men whom they esteem their protectors—for most of 'em belonging to the Country, have not had the small pox, and therefore think it unsafe to admit a guard, as usual, to sleep in the house with them since that distemper has prevail'd among 'em.

November 28th. This day being very pleasant, the respective regiments have march'd into the Common, to give their Men an airing, as well as to perform their Manoeuvres, of firing, &c.

* This was probably Robert Hamilton, afterwards Sheriff of Lanarkshire, a favorite friend of Sir Walter Scott's. In his *Life*, Lockhart gives a notice of him, saying that he had served and been severely wounded in America, and that on his death-bed, in 1831, having requested Sir Walter to select some keepsake of him, his sword that he had worn at Bunker's Hill was chosen to adorn the armory at Abbotsford.

In the official report of the battle, Captain Hamilton of the Tenth was named among the wounded at Bunker's Hill.

November 29th. Yesterday the General order'd a Sergeant and drum from each Regiment to parade every street in town and proclaim to the inhabitants that if they trusted a Soldier more than a day's pay, their commanding officer would not pay it, and therefore they must do it at their own risque.

November 30th. The desertions have been so great of late that the troops had orders last evening to call the roll every half hour till further orders.

December 1st. Saw Mr. Prideaux, who acknowledg'd the Note and said he would pay it at some future time.

December 2nd. The General, in order to remove every cause of complaint has this morning set a number of Soldiers to work upon the Common to fill up the cellars and holes that were made by the troops when encamp'd there, as well as to level the banks flung up by them.

December 3rd. The arrival of a number of ships from England within this week past, who give an account of the parliament's being dissolv'd in consequence of the Scarborough's arrival there with the intelligence of the Cambridge muster, &ca., has caus'd some disagreeable apprehensions to arise in the minds of the people, least the Ministry should, by such a sudden manœuvre, patch up a new parliament as equally subservient to their *cursed* schemes as the old one, and by that means play the *devil* with us in the Spring.

December 4th. Sunday. This morning the Scarborough arriv'd with a double compliment of Marines (contrary to the opinion of many, who believed, as it had been reported, that she was gone to take her station at Ireland) who informs that three or four more capital Ships are coming out with the like number of Marines. What their designs are, other than to reinforce General Gage, I cant conceive, nor am I, for my own part, apprehensive in the least of worse consequences.

December 5th. Last Fryday the provincial Congress, now sitting, deputed three of their number to wait up Secretary Fluker and demand a list of the Mandamus Councillors, with an account of those who refus'd taking the oath, as well as those who had resign'd, together with the time of such respective refusals and resignations — who in reply told them that he did not know any *mandamus* councillors, but he knew a number of gentlemen who were appointed by his majesty as councillors of this province, and therefore declin'd complying with their demand. I suppose the intention of the Congress is to return their thanks to those who had refus'd or resign'd, and

to censure, upon record, the conduct of those who have had the temerity to continue in office. As the Congress keep all their transactions a profound secret, am indebted to your uncle Joe for the above intelligence.

December 6th. Saw Captain Shee again this morning, who shew me a letter from Bertle Shee of your city, acquainting him that he had paid all the debts left in the Memorandum, among which was *Griffin's*, and at the same time requesting Captain Shee to send him a draft for £200 on Messrs. Mifflins, to reimburse him for what he had advanc'd.

December 7th. The town met this day and made choice of sixty one, principally young fellows, to see that the association of the Congress is put in execution.

December 8th. Wrote you by the post, and return'd Captain Shee's draft for £6, your currency, which he declines paying.*

* The following letter sent by post, referred to in the text:—

“BOSTON, 8th December, 1774.

“DEAR WILL, — Have been a long while waiting for a private opportunity to write you, and as none has offer'd, am necessitated to put you to the expence of postage. Its about ten days since I waited upon Captain Hamilton and presented his note for payment with your compliments. He reply'd that he must write Mr. Griffin about it and did not say whether he would pay it or not.

“About three weeks since I presented the draft to Captain Shee, who stammer'd much about it, and told me he had left orders with *Bertle Shee* of your city to pay it; therefore desir'd of me to suspend the matter till he heard from him. Last Tuesday I waited upon him again, when he shew me a letter from *that Gentleman*, wherein he advis'd him of having paid all ye debts of which he left a mem., and Captain Shee said Mr. Griffin's was among 'em, and therefore advis'd me to send it back again, which I now inclose you, and as you neglected to make an indorsement upon it, am oblig'd to return it without a regular protest.

“Mr. Blackwood has accepted the draft on him, and by his conduct believe he intends to pay it. Have seen Mr. Prideaux, who likewise tells me that he will pay his note. Must depend altogether upon their Honor, as the times are such that they cannot be compell'd, and in haste,

Yours etc'a.

“JNO. ANDREWS.

“P. S. You may think it odd for me to have mentioned as I have respecting those demands on the Officers, without previously acknowledging the receipt of them — but that, you must know, is done in the *Budget*, which I dont much expect to have a private opportunity to send you till the Spring. There's nothing in particular new among us at present, save that the transports are fitting out with the greatest expedition, though their destination is not known. It has been rumour'd for some days past that more or less of the troops are going to leave us, but [what] foundation there is for the report I cant learn. The arrival of a number of men of war causes much speculation here, as we cant conceive of the expediency of sending out such large ships. Some conjecture that they are going to block up all the harbours in this province, and others that the principal ports on the Continent will [be] subjected [to] that inconvenience.”

Address: “Mr. William Barrell, Merchant, Philadelphia, p. post.” Postmarked, “Boston, Dec. 6. Postage 1 \ 10.”

December 9th. We have an account this day of a vessell having arriv'd at Salem in a short passage from Falmouth, but cant learn whether she has brought anything new or not. Last evening Deacon Storer's wife took a final farewell of this transitory life.

December 10th. We have had a continued succession of fowl weather since this day week, and last night it blew very hard. It is imagin'd that one of the Seventy four Gun Ships is run ashore, as they have heard the report of a continued quick succession of very heavy mettle since midnight. The Admiral has sent a schooner down this morning.

December 11th. The Ship in distress on fryday night turns out to be the Glasgow of twenty guns from Halifax, who has lost her keel and rudder with some of her men. Yesterday a Sergeant went off with about £40 sterling, which was intrusted to him to pay off the Soldiers. He got away by the assistance of a chaise, which carried him beyond the Guards.

December 12th. Yesterday P.M. the Royal Irish remov'd from their quarters in your uncle Green's distillhouse, to go on board the transports, as the smell of the lees in the cisterns added to their urine, has caus'd an infectious distemper among 'em, whereby two or three have dropt down dead of a day. The same mortallity has prevail'd, though in a less degree, in some of the other distillhouses. I dont [know?] any that have got half so good barracks as those opposite our house, though you must be sensible, Bill, that they are not very agreeable neighbours.

December 13th. This morning the Welch fusileers, together with a detachment from another regiment, form'd a body of 400 men, and equip'd with knapsacks &ca., march out of town as far as the punch bowl in Brooklyne, when they return'd again. What this manœuvre can be for, I cant imagine, other than to give the men an airing, or with a view to make frequent feints of the kind in order to familiarize the people to it, whereby in future they may make an irruption into the country without creating any suspicion of their design, or possibly to make the Soldiers acquainted with the different roads near the town.

December 14th. Another Regiment's performing the same manœuvre this day, and taking a different road, looks a little like as though my suspicions are well founded.

December 15th. This day was celebrated our annual *Thanksgiving*, recommended by the *provincial* Congress. Last evening my sister Breck was deliver'd of a fine boy, and what's remarkable, she was deliver'd of a daughter the last thanksgiving eve.

December 16th. Yesterday died of a throat-distemper, which is very prevalent in the army at this time, Captain Maturene, the Governor's private Secretary, and however obnoxious the day might be to the government party, he did not fail sending Supplicatory Notes to all the congregations in town yesterday.

December 17th. The Distillhouses continue to prove so very fatal to the Soldiers, that the Surgeons have one and all drew up a protest against the Soldiers remaining there. Where they will find quarters for 'em otherways, I cant conceive, as there's scarce a m of Lumber in town, and the inhabitants even find it difficult to procure it for a *ground tenement* for their deceased friends.

December 18th. The Somerset of 74 guns arriv'd this forenoon, being the last of the squadron that came out with the Scarborough.

December 19th. Am this day favor'd with your letter of the 5 December, handed me by Mr. Williams, with a mem^o. for books, which I shall endeavor to procure as soon as I get an opportunity, as my apprentice is now confin'd at our house and very ill with a putrid fever, that we are in great trouble, being apprehensive that we shall all be attack'd with it—if so, God's will be done—The Doctor has pronounc'd him very dangerous—and people in general are so very much affraid of the distemper, that we have been trying *in vain* to procure a nurse for him, and as his parents live in the country we are in a pitiable situation.

December 20th. Mr. Blackwood call'd and paid the bill on him this day, being £15/19 Lawful money.

December 21st. Two or three Regiments continue to go out of town every day, sometimes to Cambridge, and at other times towards Dedham. This day being excessive cold, a Granadier of the 59th fell down lifeless, and was sent to town in [a] countryman's cart.

December 22nd. The affair at Portsmouth, of their having dismantled Newcastle fort, has caus'd the General to send the Scarborough there to keep 'em in order.

December 23rd. Am told the Extra number of Marines that came in the last ships of war refuse to come on shore, as they say they did not enlist for Land Service. Suppose the hard duty the Soldiers are put to here has induced 'em to take this resolution.

December 24th. This morning the poor fellow, who was taken on the Neck last Saturday night, attempting to desert, was shot. There were many intercessions made to the General, for his reprieve, by the Officers, but these going off so very fast, and he being the first taken

since the troops were *all* arriv'd, he would not regard their prayer, as he was determin'd to make an example of him. It was debated in a council of officers, but over rul'd, that he should be hung in chains upon the gallows *in terrorem*.

December 25th. The Packet has brought credentials that *dub* William Pepperell a *Night*, for his steady adherence to the Government side in not resigning his Councillorship — a *bauble* he has been seeking after a long time, and could not procure it when at home, because not worth an estate of three thousand a year — the most he could presume upon being seven hundred. But it seems that will come vastly short now, as they have, in great part, put the threats, in the inclos'd scrap of News paper, in execution; and would have done the whole, but the leases are not *all* expir'd as yet.

December 26th. Am not at all surpris'd that provisions are so very dear amongs, considering the great number of additional mouths there is to feed. Am told that the contractors for the Navy alone, engage for a Tun weight of Mutton every day.

December 28th. Last Evening a soldier, who [was] plac'd centinel on the Long wharfe, in assisting to get a drunken sailor out of the Dock, unfortunately got in himself, and the sailor not being able to afford him any assistance, he was finally drown'd and his body taken up this morning.

December 30th. The Marines, consisting of about five hundred men, landed this forenoon and have gone into barracks at the extreme part of the North End, by much the fittest place for them, as I am told they are ten times more dissolute (if possible) than the marching regiments — partaking of the extreem ill qualities of a soldier as well as that of a man-of-war's-man.

December 31st. The Soldiers are much discontented upon account of the man who was shot for desertion, as they say if the General had a right to send his body to the grave, he had no right to send his soul to the Devil, for he had his death warrant but eleven hours before he was executed.

January the 1st, 1775. With wishing you a happy new year, Bill, I must add my wishes that we may have a less troublesome year than the last, and that Great Britain may see her error in distressing the Colonies, and restore to them their *just* rights and liberties; that we may *once* more see that harmony prevail which formerly us'd to subsist between them.

January 2nd. This afternoon, an Officer of the 10th Regiment, one

Dulap an ensign, being warm or rather frantic with liquor, stop'd a man, who drives a waggon between Salem and here, in union street, and order'd him to turn out of the way for him to walk on. The waggoner refus'd; he made no more words but struck across the face with a hickory stick, upon which the waggoner clos'd in upon him, took his stick from him, and beat him pretty decently. Before the affray was over, upwards of fifty soldiers had collected upon the place—some smiling with inward satisfaction (especially those of his own regiment) and others pretending to assist him.

January 4th. The Discontent of the Soldiers has become so general that they have doubled all the guards and made one or two regiments lay under arms, as well as that they have fix'd a field piece in the Centre of the town to be fir'd in case of a mutiny, whereby all those that are not concern'd in it are to appear under arms.

January 6th. This morning we had quite a novel sight. The Sailors belonging to the Transports consisting of about 30 or 40 dress'd in white shirts ornamented with various color'd ribbons dispos'd crossways on their bodies with knots and garlands, paraded each side of a long rope dragging a plow, accompanied with one compleatly tar'd and feather'd, representing a *he* Devil, together with a *She* Devil, and an attendant, each furnish'd with a bag to collect money, stopping every person of genteel appearance to request a remembrance of Old England, wishing 'em a merry Christmas. The former look'd as compleatly like the devil as the most fertile invention could form an idea of or picture. The General gave them two half Joes, and it is suppos'd that they collected at least forty guineas. The design of it was to celebrate the twelfth night, or the breaking up of Christmas.

January 7th. The uneasiness of the tenth regiment has caus'd a general report, for several days past, that they had mutinied and were disarm'd in consequence of it. This much is very certain, that they have lost a number of their men by sickness, and near forty of the regiment in particular are down with inflammatory fever, caus'd by the hard duty on the Neck several very stormy days. Am told they one and all, i. e. of the privates, came into some agreements among themselves, which they would not divulge to their officers, and were depriv'd of the use of their arms, when off duty.

January 9th. For this fortnight past, scarce a day passes without three or four soldiers' funerals: a spot of ground at the bottom of the common being allotted for them, which they have improv'd for upwards of a hundred already.

January 10th. Its about ten months since Ruthy began to cut a coat of arms, on vellum, for your uncle Joe; which hurt her eyes to such a degree as that she was oblig'd to lay it by. This fall she reasum'd it again, and compleated it a few days since. Its about eight inches square, with his and his wife's arm quarter'd, supported at the lower corners by Jupiter and Minerva inimitably executed, and together with the embellishments of her fruitful fancy, forms the most extraordinary piece of workmanship of the kind, that I believe was ever perform'd. It was sent home yesterday, and this morning the following poetical note was sent Ruthy by your uncle (accompanied with a neat silver salver about 8 inches diameter) address'd to *Garterilla*, principal Queen at Arms.

Garter, Clarencieux, and Norroy
May boast a tawdry painted toy;
Pleas'd to adjust, by Herald's rules
Their Argent, Azure, Or, and Gules.
Judicious eyes take more delight
To view *your* simple black and white.
Then as a favor let me ask
You'd undertake another task;
Since in my Arms such art you've shown,
Pray on this Plate engrave your own.

which I think show an ingenuity and a delicacy peculiar only to him.

January 11th. This morning the soldiers in the barrack opposite our house, left it, and took quarters with the royal Irish in Gould's auction room or store — in the street leading to Charlestown ferry.

January 13th. By a court martial which continued two days this week on board the *Sommerset*, Captain Maltby of the Glasgow was broke, being convicted of embezzlement. He not long since bro't the Gunner of his Ship to tryal for some small misdemeanor, and mulcted him a year's pay. The latter made reprisals on him by the above accusation.

January 15th. A few days since an Officer carried a manuscript to Henry Knox for him to publish; being an answer, as he said, to General Lee's pamphlet (which you sent me). He told him he did not mean to confute every part, as the principal of it was unanswerable. Knox perus'd a few pages of it and found it to be rather a weak performance, and therefore declin'd undertaking the publishment — excusing himself as its being out of his way.

January 16th. Am not much surpriz'd at the dearth of provisions

among us when I consider what an additional number of inhabitants we have got, together with the quantities that are barrell'd up in every town in the country to serve as a supply for any future exigencies — no town having less than a hundred barrels and some a thousand; that partridges are sold in our market for half a dollar a pair which us'd formerly to be bought for eight pence, and eggs at the *reasonable* price of 1/6 lawful money per dozen.

January 18th. Either yesterday or Monday, Justice [——] fin'd a poor oysterman five pounds sterling, together with 5/ for his writ, for buying or rather letting a Soldier have a few coppers upon a pair of drawers which the Soldier was to have redeemed again — this being the third instance of the kind that has been transacted; advantages taken of the ignorant country people by *necessitous* Justices, that would not stick at any thing to put such a fine in their own pockets. Have eras'd out his name as I would not have it mention'd.*

January 19th. Yesterday was celebrated the Queen's birth day by the Army, and in the afternoon a large Company of Officers assembled at the Coffee house, with a band of Musick in the balcony, and the King's *own* Grenadiers upon the opposite side of the street; when upon ev'ry toast they gave three cheers, after which, one of their number came out to the balcony and announced it to the Commander of the Granadiers, who thereupon order'd a volley to be fir'd, when the Musick struck up and after that succeeded the drums. This they continued till near nine o'clock. — Among their toasts was the 16th April, '46 — a similar chastisement to all Rebels — Confusion to the American Army — Lord North — with a number of such exasperating toasts — which the populace, that were gather'd upon the occasion, took no notice of, save the last, when they gave a general hiss and exclaim'd *damn him*, upon which the announcer of the toast cry'd *bless him*, which was retorted upon him by frequent curses and execrations, that the Grenadiers were order'd to clear the street with their bayonets, which did not do other than to push the length of their muskets.

January 21st. Last evening a number of drunken Officers attacked the town house watch between eleven and 12 o'clock, when the assistance of the New Boston watch was call'd, and a general battle ensued; some wounded on both sides. A party from the main guard was brought up with their Captain together with another party from the

* The name of this justice, though partially erased, is still legible in the original manuscript.

Governor's. Had it not been for the prudence of two Officers that were sober, the Captain of the Main Guard would have acted a second Tragedy to the 5th March, as he was much disguis'd with Liquor and would have order'd the guard to fire on the watch had he not been restrain'd. His name is *Gore*, being a Captain in the 5th or Earl Peirce's regiment. He was degraded not long since for some misdemeanour.

This afternoon there was a general squabble between the Butchers in the market and a number of Soldiers. It first began by a Soldier's tripping up the heels of a fisherman who was walking through the market with a piece of beef in his hands. A guard from the 47th Barracks appear'd and carried off the Soldiers, together with one *butcher* who was most active, the Officer taking him by the Collar. *He* was able to have crush'd the officer, but was advis'd to be quiet. Young Ned Gray insisted on it that he should not be carried into the guard house, upon which many hard words pass'd between him and the Captain of the Guard. However Gray prevail'd, and they carried the man into Miss Foster's store close by the barracks, from whence the Officer dismiss'd him after finding upon deliberation that his conduct was not justifiable — and seem'd to be much afraid least the Butcher should take advantage of him by Law or complaint.

Sunday, January 22nd. The Officers' animosity to the watch still rankling in their breast, induc'd two of them to go last night to the watch house again at about 10 o'clock and threaten the watch that they would bring a file of men and blow all their brains out. The watch thereupon left their cell and shut it up, and went and enter'd a complaint to the Selectmen — some of whom waited on the Governor at about 12 o'clock, who was very much vex'd at the Officers' conduct, and told the Gentlemen that he had got the names of three that were concern'd in Fryday night's frolick, and was determin'd to treat them with the utmost severity — and likewise order'd a guard to patrolle through every street in town and bring every officer to him that they should find strolling or walking.

January 23rd. A Court of enquiry is to take place this day, when its suppos'd that the Captain of the Guard *at least* will be broke, for being drunk when on duty.

January 24th. In consequence of an application from a number of the inhabitants of Marshfield (who are under the influence of Ray Thomas, one of the Mandamus Councillors, and the Winslow family, who are likewise remarkable high tories) a number of men, drafted

from several of the Regiments, to the amount of 100, embark'd on board an arm'd schooner last evening to go there for their protection — they pretending that the neighbouring towns had threatned to molest 'em — but cant learn that they had any such intentions. Hope the people will be discreet and prudent enough not to meddle with the Soldiers.

January 25th. Yesterday the Officers were all examin'd at the New Court house, respecting fryday night's affair, being carried there under arrest, nine in number (after which the General is to deal with them): being a great number of evidences they were oblig'd to adjourn till [to] day.

January 26th. The very great expenses of the army and navy has put the Commanders so much to their trumps, for want of Cash, that they have been oblig'd to borrow upwards of fifteen thousand sterling in specie of old Captain Erving, and near as much more of Borland.

January 27th. Its shocking to conceive to what degree the Soldiers are punish'd. Its imagin'd half their deaths arise from it, as it often happens that their ribs are laid quite bare, whereby their kidneys are so affected that they become incurable. A Drummer in the tenth Regiment, more humane than the rest, refus'd one day this week to take his turn with the whip, and when it was handed him, flung it on the ground, saying that he inlisted to serve his Majesty as a Drummer, in which calling he would venture to say that he was as capable and did his duty as faithfully as any in the Regiment, but he never enter'd the service to become a whipper or hangman, and therefore, let the consequence be what it would, was determin'd not to do it. The adjutant order'd him immediately under guard. The next day he was tried by a court martial and honorably acquitted.

January 28th. Our joy, in getting rid of the soldiers from the house directly opposite us, is shortliv'd, as they are now preparing it for the reception of the sick from the Welch fusileers — who have so many down with fevers and what not that they have not room to stow 'em in the house which they have alwise improv'd as a hospital, so that we are like to be in a fine situation. As to moving, its impossible, as there's not a room scarcely in the town ten feet square unimprov'd. We have thought of selling our furniture and going out to board, as we dont see any other method we can take to avoid being continually expos'd to infection. Have been to the barrack master about it, who tells me he has expostulated against it, but to no purpose, his office being near by it — but they can get no other place, and the general's orders are positive to fit it up immediately.

Sunday, January 29th. You may possibly have seen in the papers some *curious* resolves of the town of Barnstable, which were effected by one *Bacon*, a magistrate there, who procur'd one of the pamphlets written by Doctor Cooper of New York, which he read to the inhabitants and told them that Doctor Cooper of this town wrote it, and perswaded 'em likewise that all the Sons of Liberty here were falling off in the same manner. As soon as he had obtain'd the resolves, he hasted up to town with them, and carried immediately to the press, since which he has tarried here with other refugees. Last week, the town of Barnstable, convinc'd of their error, had a meeting and pass'd a number of resolves entirely abrogating all of the other that were in the least derogatory to the cause of freedom; and execrate the author of their deception.

Treasurer Gray has attempted in a pamphlet to ridicule the transactions of the Congress — quite a weak, puerile performance — much of the same stile with one wrote in answer to General Lee's by one Barrey, an officer in the 52nd Regiment, whose performance is pretty much like himself, being an awkward sappy looking chap, the more so I think than any officer I have seen among all that's here.* Am doubtfull whether I can prevail on Martin Brimmer to take any thing more than this letter (else I would send 'em you together with what others I have procur'd) as he intends going as far as South Carolina, and of consequence will be encumber'd with linnen and other necessities. The Dramatic piece in the Newspaper, am told is written by a woman — the characters are exceedingly well delineated, and I think the stile is masterly.

I believe, *Bill*, I must leave off journalizing, as its the season of the year in which I am employ'd in settling my accounts, as well as that the sleding bring us some up country business, which, together with the shortness of the days, scarcely allows me leisure enough for the performance. Therefore you must not be disappointed if you dont hear any thing more from me in *this stile*. Shall notwithstanding embrace every opportunity that offers to write you, though in more general terms. Shall close this by giving you a small anecdote, relating to some of our school lads — who as formerly in this season improv'd the Coast from Sherburn's hill down to School street. General Haldiman,

* Captain Barry, of the Fifty-second Regiment, was, on the 24th December, 1780, appointed Deputy Adjutant-General under General Leslie, by Lord Cornwallis. While in South Carolina, he was the author of another political paper, designed to be satirical, which is printed in Johnson's "Traditions of the American Revolution," p. 278.

improving the house that belongs to Old Cook, his servant took it upon him to cut up their coast and fling ashes upon it. The lads made a muster, and chose a committee to wait upon the General, who admitted them, and heard their complaint, which was couch'd in very genteel terms, complaining that their fathers before 'em had improv'd it as a coast for time immemorial, &ca. He order'd his servant to repair the damage, and acquainted the Governor with the affair, who observ'd that it was impossible to beat the notion of Liberty out of the people, as it was rooted in 'em *from their Childhood*.

March 18th. Your favor of the 27th ultimo by Mr. Phillips was handed me yesterday, and being St. Patrick's day I could not see Captain Hamilton till this day, who told me that he did not acquaint Mr. Griffin that he should have to draw upon his father soon, as he is so unhappy as not to have a father, and further made many excuses, that cash was scarce, and there was no getting his pay without a considerable loss, and it was impossible for him to pay any part at present, but it was likely he should be able to pay the whole in the course of the Spring—that the note was for money he lost at play a few evenings before he came away, though he did not mean but that it was as justly due and that he esteemed it the same as though he'd had the cash from Mr. Griffin; but said that Griffin [promised] him that the note should not go out of his hands, and only requested it of him as a mem.

Have repeatedly sent to Mr. Prideaux, who as often as he is seen either makes promises or excuses. Shall endeavor to follow him close, but hope ere long they will both be with you again.

As printed extracts of Letters that came by the packet to New York was brought us last night from Providence, giving *us great* hopes to expect a full completion of our wishes in regard to publick affairs, they were reprinted here and out early this morning. The tories say they were made by S. Adams last night. Others, that they are the same letters that were received in the Stamp Act time—and others say, if they are genuine, merchants' letters are not worth regarding—but unhappy for them, the whole is confirm'd by the post just arriv'd.

An express came to the governor with letters by the packet on Wensday evening, but nothing transpir'd but to a few of his refugee councillor's, who have been observ'd ever since to be much crest-fallen. Old B—le was heard to exclaim yesterday—"We shall lose the day. Good God! what will become of us?"—A certain Reverend Doctor of *the Establish'd Church* in this town has lately said that he would

rather wade up to his knees in blood, than that the Ministry should give way. Thursday was observ'd here as a general fast. An officer, with men from the 4th Regiment in Barracks at West Boston, erected a couple of tents just at the back of Howard's meeting and conducted a parcell of fifes and drums there, which play'd and beat Yanky Doodle the whole forenoon service time, to the great interruption of the congregation. They intended to repeat the same in the afternoon, but were prevented by orders from the General. The officers in general behave more like a parcell of children, of late, than men. Captain [—] * of the Royal Irish first expos'd himself by behaving in a very scandalous manner at the South meeting, while Doctor Warren was delivering the oration in commemoration of the Massacre. He got pretty decently frightened for it. A woman, among the rest, attack'd him and threatened to wring his nose. Last Wensday, the day the oration was publish'd, a vast number of Officers assembled in King street, when they proceeded to the choice of a moderator and seven out of their number to represent the select men, the latter of whom with the moderator went into the Coffee house balcony, where was provided a fellow apparrell'd in a black gown with a rusty grey wigg and fox tail hanging to it, together with bands on — who deliver'd an oration from the balcony to a crowd of few else beside gaping officers. It contain'd the most scurrilous abuse upon the characters of the principal patriots here, wholly made up of the most vile, profane, blackguard language as ever was express'd. They intend acting the same farce over again on farce day, or rather to deliver a sermon from the same place, but the General, knowing more than we did at that time, prudently forbid it. The affair of Colonel Nesbitt of the 47th having tarr'd and feather'd a countryman, and Colonel Leslie's expedition to Salem, do them equal honor, and I dare say will become subjects of the keenest satire. A Committee from the country in behalf of the countryman above, waited on the General on fast day, who was greatly disgusted with their remonstrance (being a very spirited one) but finally dismiss'd them with every assurance of protection from danger, and that [in] quite a pleasant manner: also assur'd them that he would undertake that the man should have full satisfaction. Had I time and room, the subject would afford large comments. The same day I overheard a number say that they were going to have a congress,

* This name is also legible in the original manuscript, though erased by the pen of the author.

consisting of a deputation of three officers from each regiment, but I imagine the late news will put a stop to their folly in this respect.

Really, Bill, its necessary a person should have eyes and no ears to be in the way of these chaps—for a person must [be] more than a stoic to prevent his irracibility rising at the speeches they are continually making, more so of late than ever before — That they may return the same harmless *tools* they came, is the wish of your affectionate brother.

[P. S.] *Monday morning.* Its by Captain Hamilton's particular desire that I write you. He intends writing you himself also. Its my opinion, that if we had not had some News, as a check upon the army, it would have been impossible to have bore with their insults, as they increas'd every day, stimulated thereto by the damn'd refugees, who have one and all, directly or indirectly, declar'd their sentiments as the Reverend Doctor above. Our provincial congress is to meet next month at Concord, when, I am told, there is to be an army of observation incamp'd, consisting of twenty thousand men. Am also inform'd that the congress have expended near a million in our Old tenor for amunition and provisions. This I know, that they have had upwards of fifty ton of shot, shell, &ca., cast, besides an innumerable number of Musket balls. Have seen twenty load cover'd with dung to go out of town myself, but lately all carts have been search'd by the Guards, and unluckily last Saturday evening a load of cartridges were seiz'd pack'd in candle boxes, consisting of 13500 besides 4 boxes balls. The countryman struggled hard before he would deliver 'em, and received two or three bad wounds. The same evening eight or nine officers paraded the street and abus'd every person they met, but finally met with their matches and were all made to lay level with the ground — and yesterday four Sergeants and as many men were sent to insult John Hancock, under pretence of seeing if his stables would do for barracks. He went directly to the General, who order'd a party there, but they were gone. The General told him if he was any ways insulted again, to write a billet and send by a servant, and he would immediately redress him — but it seems the officers and soldiers are a good deal disaffected towards the Governor, thinking, I suppose, that he is partial to the inhabitants, many of the latter have made no scruples to call him an *Old Woman*.

In regard to the season, Bill, am perswaded you could not have been more favor'd than we have been. The oldest man among us can't

remember to have ever seen one equal to it. Dont you think I have improv'd my paper well?

April 11th. About ten days since Captain Hamilton had the misfortune to fall from his horse, and broke two or three of his ribs, and otherways bruis'd himself in such a manner that it was tho't he could not survive it, but am told he is likely to get well. I doubt whether I shall ever be able to get the money of him, more especially of Mr. Prideaux, who does not pay the least regard to his promises, though I follow him very close too.

In regard to publick affairs, we are all in confusion at present, the streets and Neck lin'd with waggons carrying off the effects of the inhabitants, who are either affraid, mad, crazy or infatuated — *which term you please, Bill*—imagining to themselves that they shall be liable to every evil that can be enumerated, if they tarry in town. For my own part, am determin'd to stay at all events, though I look upon my outstanding debts in the country (which are very considerable) to be totally lost, as if the army moves into the country (which by all their maneauvries at present, there remains no dispute of) the country are determin'd to oppose 'em, at least if they proceed in a hostile manner; and to expect better times, *very speedily*, is wishing against hope.

William Whitwell, who trades largely to your town, died last night; upon receiving the last disagreeable news, his spirits fail'd him, and as his fortitude could not support him under the apprehension of seeing the miseries and calamities that are likely to befall his country; he languish'd and died.

The Commissioners have appointed an officer, under pretence of searching for contraband goods, who inspects every Cask that is carried out of the town by opening and boring, so that the waggons are detain'd sometime by him.

Have sent you Doctor Mayhew's Sermons to young Men, agreeable, to your desire in a former letter. I expected to have procur'd one more neatly bound, but could not. The officers' oration is in print among themselves, should have exerted myself to procure one for you, but the *scandalous* freedoms taken in it, by printing or rather exposing the Domestic troubles of some very worthy characters among us, induc'd me not to send it, as *with many*, they are not known, and should you have it, you might possibly be induc'd to shew it to a friend or two who might thereby be acquainted with circumstances, though no ways lessening to the merits of an unexceptionable character — yet may be disagreeable to the injur'd party to have the faults of those expos'd

with whom they are necessarily connected, more especially when dress'd up with so false a gloss.

The second part of the comic performance I sent you some time since, I now enclose you, under the title of the Group, together with the paper that is principally open to the tory party. My intention in procuring this for you is to shew the childish play of a number of *officers* among us, who have foolishly endeavor'd to ape men, who are as superior to them in abilities as *they* are degrading to their order, in acting such a despicable part as they do, which you may see by their resolutions. Their procession was from the coffee house to the Cock-loft in the town house, where they stew'd in one room, or rather hovel, scarce sufficient to contain them standing. Their *silly* parade consisted of a president with a *borrow'd* scarlet cloak and perriwig, with a wand in one hand and a book in the other, follow'd by six others, alike apparell'd, who stil'd themselves (however improperly for a congress) the selectmen, together with about thirty others in their uniforms walking two and two—with much greater courage, I imagine, than they would face an enemy.

Young Ned Hill who was in your city last fall is dead of the camp fever, being the fourth and last son the old gentleman has lost in the course of two years. His daughter together with a domestic in the house now lay at the point of death with the same disorder, which has been very prevalent among us, and carried off a great number of the inhabitants as well as soldiers.

Several young tradesmen have left town, to join the American Army, as they call it, and others of a higher sphere in life, am told, have sent up their names to the congress for commissions. I hear they have provided stores, ammunition, tent equipage and provisions for an army to consist of thirty thousand men.

Ruthy has lately finish'd a landscape which she drew with a pen, that's equal to any copper plate that I ever saw. In regard to design I think it exceeds most every thing of the kind, but the attention she is oblig'd to pay to it, while in hand, is so great that it cant but be prejudicial to her health. It is so much admir'd, that it is sent for to all quarters to see. She has received the compliment of Earl Piercy upon the occasion, who express'd his very great admiration of it.

April 19th. Yesterday produc'd a scene the most shocking New England ever beheld. Last Saturday p.m. orders were sent to the several regiments quarter'd here, not to let their Grenadiers or light Infantry do any duty till further orders, upon which the inhabitants

conjectur'd that some secret expedition was on foot, and being on the look out, they observ'd those bodies upon the move between ten and eleven o'clock the Evening before last, observing a perfect silence in their march towards a point opposite Phips's farm, where [boats?] were in waiting that convey'd 'em over. The men appointed to alarm the country upon such occasions got over by stealth as early as they [could] and took their different routs. The first advice we had was about eight o'clock in the morning, when it was reported that the troops had fir'd upon and killed five men in Lexington — previous to which an officer came express to his Excellency Governor Gage, when between eight and nine o'clock a brigade march'd out under the command of Earl Piercy, consisting of the Marines, the Welch fusileers, the 4th Regiment, the 47th, and two field pieces. About twelve o'clock it was gave out by the General's Aide camps that no person was kill'd, and that a single gun had not been fir'd, which report was variously beleiv'd — but between one and two certain accounts came that eight were kill'd outright and fourteen wounded of the inhabitants of Lexington — who had about forty men drawn out early in the morning near the meeting house to exercise. The party of the Light Infantry and Grenadiers, to the number of about eight hundred, came up to them and order'd them to disperse. The commander of 'em reply'd that they were only innocently amusing themselves with exercise, that they had not any amunition with 'em, and therefore should not molest or disturb them, which answer not satisfying, the troops fir'd upon and kill'd three or four, the other took to their heels and the troops continued to fire. A few took refuge in the meeting, when the soldiers shov'd up the Windows and pointed their Guns in and kill'd three there. Thus much is best account I can learn of the beginning of this fatal day.

You must naturally suppose that such a piece would rouse the country (allow'd the report to be true). The troops continued their march to Concord, enter'd the town, and refresh'd themselves in the meeting and town house. In the latter place they found some ammunition and stores belonging to the country, which they found they could not bring away by reason that the country people had occupied all the posts around 'em. They therefore set fire to the house, which the people extinguish'd. They set fire a second time, which brought on a general engagement at about eleven o'clock. The troops took two pieces [of] cannon from the peasants, but their numbers increasing they soon regain'd 'em, and the troops were oblig'd to retreat towards town.

About noon they were join'd by the other brigade under Earl Piercy, when another very *warm* engagement came on at Lexington, which the troops could not stand; therefore were oblig'd to continue their retreat, which they did with the bravery becoming british soldiers — but the country were in a manner desperate, not regarding their cannon [any more] in the least, and follow'd 'em till seven in the evening, by which time they got into Charlestown, when they left off the pursuit, least they might injure the inhabitants. I stood upon the hills in town and saw the engagement very plain. It was very bloody for seven hours. Its conjectur'd that one half the soldiers at least are kill'd. The last brigade was sent over the ferry in the evening to secure their retreat — where they are this morning entrenching themselves upon Bunker's hill [to] get a safe retreat to this town. Its impossible to learn any particulars, as the communication between town and country is at present broke off. They were till ten o'clock last night bringing over their wounded, several of which are since [dead], two officers in particular. When I reflect and consider that the fight was between those, whose parents but a few generations ago were brothers, I shudder at the thought, and there's no knowing where our calamities will end.

April 24th. Yesterday, though Sunday, we had town meetings all day, and finally concluded to deliver up *all* our Arms to the Selectmen, on condition that the Governor would open the avenues to the town, which is to be comply'd with tomorrow, when if I can escape with the skin of my teeth, shall be glad, as I don't expect to be able to take more than a change of apparell with me, as Sam. and his wife with myself and Ruthy intend for Nova Scotia.

And as I see no prospect of ever getting the money of Captain Hamilton or of Mr. Prideaux, have thought best, as this is the last safe conveyance, and as I don't know who intends staying here that I could leave 'em with, to enclose them to you by Mr. Breck, who sets out for your place with his family as soon as he is at liberty to leave this distress'd town. I don't doubt, Bill., but you will sympathize with us, as I can safely say, I never knew that my nature was capable of enduring such poignant distress as at present, more on your sister's account than my own, as if we are not gone soon I fear she will go distracted. Be it as it will, Bill., I expect to become a beggar ere long, as our own countrymen have not compassion, but persist in threatening the town with storming it, which pray God avert before I depart.

May 6th. You'll observe by this that I'm yet in Boston, and here

like to remain. Three of us charter'd a vessel a fortnight since to convey us to Halifax, as *Sam* don't think your city safe by any means, but the *absolute* refusal of the Governor to suffer any merchandize to be carried out of the town, has determin'd me to stay and take care of my effects, together with the perswasion of *Sam*. and his wife and *Ruthy* — the latter being perfectly willing and desirous of going without me, as her peace of mind depends entirely upon her leaving the town: in consequence of which, have acquiesc'd, but am affraid it will be a long time before I shall see her again, if ever. Near half the inhabitants have left the town already, and another quarter, *at least*, have been waiting for a week past, with earnest expectation of getting papers, which have been dealt out very sparingly of late, not above two or three procur'd of a day, and those with the greatest difficulty. Its a fortnight yesterday since the communication between the town and country was stop'd. Of consequence our eyes have not been bless'd with either vegetables or fresh provisions, how long we shall continue in this *wretched* state — God only knows — but that no more blood may be shed is the earnest wish and prayer of your affectionate friend.

P. S. I expect to bid farewell to *Sam*. and his wife and *Ruthy*, tomorrow or Sunday, but I hope not an eternal farewell. You can have no conception, *Bill*., of the distresses the people in general are involv'd in. You'll see parents that are lucky enough to procure papers, with bundles in one hand and a string of children in the other, wandering out of the town (with *only a sufferance* of one day's permission) not knowing whither they'll go. Such, *Bill*., are but feint emblems of the distresses that seem to threaten us, which I hope the Almighty God, in his infinite wisdom, will avert. Your uncle *Joe* has engag'd a passage for London, at the expence of one hundred Guineas for himself and wife, to expedite her sailing without waiting for freight. *Balch*, brother *Joe* and his wife, *Jno. Amory*, &ca., &ca., go in her. Your uncle and aunt are very desirous for us, but my finances wont, at present, admit of it, as my whole interest, saving outstanding debts, is in town and cant be remov'd. If the lines should be attack'd, as some are apprehensive of, farewell to life and property. — You must know, that no person who leaves the town is allow'd to return again, and this morning an order from the Governor has put a stop to any more papers at any rate, not even to admit those to go who have procur'd 'em already.

June 1st. Its possible *Samuel* may have wrote you from the coun-

try, where he is wandering I know not where, with his wife and Ruthy, having quitted the vessell at Marblehead upon hearing that the same spirit prevail'd there as in the other colonies, together with finding it disagreeable to the Congress that people should emigrate there, though previous to that it was determin'd for his wife and Ruthy to leave her, as they had been three days beating in the bay and became so intolerable sick, that no perswasions could prevail on them to proceed the voyage. Ruthy writes me in the utmost distress, and says her sister must inevitably have died. You must know that we hir'd the vessel and were ready for sailing near a week before they went, but after we had had her in pay three weeks, and lay'd out a hundred Dollars for accommodation, the Admiral bought her for Government use, but stipulated that she should proceed to Halifax with our passengers, but then we were oblig'd to wait his orders for sailing, he having appointed a commander and other officers to her with eight men, which were all to go with our Captain, Mate and hands, and we to victual here, therefore you must think she was well man'd; but having outstay'd a long spell of fair winds, they'd no sooner sail'd but head winds came up and oblig'd them to put into harbour as above, where they concluded to alter their plans, but was oblig'd to leave their provisions and furniture on board; the admiral's commander being very willing to oblige them, by taking 'em out, if it had been in his power, but has finally carried them with him to Halifax, and what will become of them there, God only knows! as a rumour prevails here that they have forc'd the troops from their posts there and destroy'd all the stores belonging to the King, in the dock yard, &ca. — that she being a Government vessell, will no doubt, meet with difficulty. — My honor oblig'd me to bear the same expences in voyage as though I had gone myself, therefore you must suppose much money to be flung away to no purpose, more especially if the furniture and provisions should be lost, having on board sufficient of every kind to go to housekeeping. By the last letter I received they seem inclin'd to go to Exeter, but not determin'd. I wish 'em well fix'd somewhere, to their satisfaction. When they are, I shall be much easier in my own mind, altho' amidst continual alarms and frequent battles. It cant but afford satisfaction to every well wisher to his country to find that providence smiles upon *every* of their undertakings.

If Breck and his wife are with you please to shew 'em this, and tender my love to them all.

Your favor of the 2nd May p. Post, came to hand but a few days

since. You earnestly request my writing you by *every* Post, at which time you did not consider the embarrassments we are under in town, and that a letter cannot pass without being liable to the inspection of both parties, unless by water. I wrote you by Breck, as well as by Mr. Prince, which letters I presume you have received. If my brother can get a pass to go out, shall give him this to forward, if possible, without inspection. Its hard to stay coop'd up here and feed upon salt provisions, more especially without one's wife, Bill, but at the same time would not wish to have her here under the present disagreeable circumstances — though I find an absolute necessity to be here myself, as the soldiery think they have a license to plunder every one's house and store who leaves the town, of which they have given convincing proofs already — And the wanton destruction of property at the late fire, makes the duty, in my mind, more incumbent on me.

We have now and then a carcase offer'd for sale in the market, which formerly we would not have pick'd up in the street ; but bad as it is, it readily sells for eight pence Lawful money per lb., and a quarter of lamb when it makes its appearance, which is rarely once a week, sells for a dollar, weighing only three or three and a half pounds. To such shifts has the necessity of the times drove us ; wood not scarcely to be got at twenty two shillings a cord. Was it not for a trifle of salt provisions that we have, 'twould be impossible for us to live. Pork and beans one day, and beans and pork another, and fish when we can catch it. Am necessitated to submit to such living or risque the little all I have in the world, which consists in my stock of goods and furniture to the amount of between two and three thousand sterling, as its said without scruple that those who leave the town, forfeit all the effects they leave behind. Whether they hold it up as *only* a means to detain people or not, I cant say — but in regard to slaves their actions have been consistant with the doctrine, however absurd — It has so far avail'd as to influence many to stay, who would otherways have gone.

April 11th. Nothing but a continual round of company has prevented my writing you before this, but one of your liberal principals, am perswaded, will not only forgive the neglect, but rejoice in our deliverance, as well as sympathize with us in all the difficulties we have gone through. Nor are my anxieties yet at an end. Your favor of the 26th ult. by express, concludes *Ruthy* to be with me before this, but you undoubtedly will be surpriz'd, that after above three weeks liberation, I am still without her, and all owing to the *unkindness* of

Sam., who was down a few days after our deliverance, and contrary to my most sanguine expectations, came without her, nor could I prevail on him to stay and take care of the extensive charge I had on my hands, while I went and fetch'd her; notwithstanding which I was determin'd at all events to go and leave my affairs to chance, but he urg'd the badness of the roads, the impossibility of a carriage's passing, the uncertainty as to the designs of the fleet, the melancholly appearance of the town, &ca., all which I esteem'd as mere trifles and of no consequence, but finally to answer his own purposes, and keep her as company for his wife, whom he dont intend to bring to town for a month or two, he promis'd me if I would make myself easy, I might depend on his bringing her the next monday, or tuesday at farthest, but now its a fortnight since, and all the satisfaction I've had, is a letter or two from him, amusing me with his intentions of coming at this and that time, when its now out of my power to go myself, as I understand a warrant is issued to seize the remaining furniture of your uncle Joe's, which I must be upon the spot to prevent, if possible. I suppose I shall make myself Enemies by it, but I'll do my duty at all events.

I should have set out for Haverhill the day after the troops evacuated the town, had not the small pox prevented my lad from coming in, which difficultie still continues. By the earnest perswasion of your uncle's friends and with the advice of the select men, I mov'd into his house, at the time the troops &ca., were preparing for embarkation, under every difficulty you can conceive at such a time, as every day presented us with new scenes of the wantonness and destruction made by the soldiers. I had the care of six houses with their furniture and as many stores fill'd with effects for eleven months past, and at a time like this I underwent more fatigue and perplexity than I did through the whole siege; for I was oblig'd to take my rounds all day, without any cessation, and scarce ever fail'd of finding depredations made upon some one or other of them, that I was finally necessitated to procure men at the extravagant rate of two dollars a day to sleep in the several houses and stores for a fortnight before the military plunderers went off—for as sure as they were left alone one night, so sure they were plunder'd. Poor Ben. in addition to his other misfortunes suffer'd in this; the fellow who took charge of his house neglected to sleep there the third night, being affrighted, the consequence was, a party of soldiers got in, went into his cellar, took liquors from thence and had a revelling frolick in his parlour, carried off and de-

stroy'd of his furniture, &ca., to the value of two hundred sterling — which was not to be nam'd-with what fifty other houses suffer'd, or I *may* say a hundred.

I was oblig'd to pay at the rate of a dollar an hour for hands to assist me in moving; such was the demand for laborers, that they were taken from me, even at that, by the tories who bid over me, for the sake of carrying away *other people's* effects, wherever they could come at them, which so retarded my moving that I was oblig'd to leave my kitchen furniture in the house I left — consequently it was broke open and rummag'd, and with all my crockery ware carried off. Wat has strip'd your uncle's house of every thing he could conveniently carry off, which had I have known that had been his intention I would by no means have consented to go into it, but as I had mov'd most of my heavy things while he was preparing to go, it was too late for me to get off, when I discover'd it. Your uncle Jerry was almost frantic about it, and said he should write his brother and acquaint him that I was knowing to it, and *yet* permitted him to do it; little thinking that it was not in my power to prevent his carrying off every thing, if he was dispos'd to do it, as I *only* took charge of the house as his (Wat's) substitute. He has left all the looking glasses and window curtains, with some tables and most of the chairs; *only* two bedsteds and one bed, without any bedding or sheets, or even a rag of linnen of any kind. Some of the china and principal part of the pewter is the sum of what he has left, save the Library, which was pack'd up corded to ship, but your uncle Jerry and Mr. Austin went to him and absolutely forbid it, on his peril. He treated them in a very rough, cavalier way; told them they had no right to interfere with his business; he should do as he pleas'd, and would not hear what they had to say. Upon the whole, I dont know but what it would have been as well if he had taken them, seeing matters are going to be carried with so *high* a hand. For my further comfort, I have *Boston* upon my hands, with a *confirm'd* consumption upon him, *whom* I had not the least thought of being troubled with, as he was in the service of Major Smelt of the 47th and had embark'd with him, but was sent on shore again, on account of his sickness.

I am well in health, thank God, and have been so the whole of the time, but have liv'd at the rate of six or seven hundred sterling a year — for I was determin'd to eat fresh provissions, while it was to be got, let it cost what it would; that since October I have scarce eat three meals of salt meat, but supply'd my family with fresh at the

rate of one shilling to one shilling and sixpence sterling the pound. What wood was to be got, was oblig'd to give at the rate of twenty dollars a cord, and coals, though government had a plenty, I could not procure (not being an addressor or an associator) though I offer'd so high as fifty dollars for a chaldron, and that at a season, when Nabby and John, the only help I had, were under inoculation for the small pox, that if you'll believe me, Bill, I was necessitated to burn *horse dung*. Many were the instances of the inhabitants being confin'd to the *Provost* for purchasing fuel of the Soldiers, when no other means offer'd to keep them from perishing with cold — Yet such was the *inhumanity* of our masters, that they were even deny'd the privilege of buying the surplusage of the soldier's rations. Though you may think we had plenty of cheese and porter, yet we were oblig'd to give from fifteen pence to two shillings a pound for all we eat of the former, and a loaf of bread of the size we formerly gave three pence for, thought ourselves well off to get for a shilling. Butter at two shillings. Milk, for months without tasting any. Potatoes, from nine shillings to ten shillings and sixpence [a] bushel, and every thing else in the same strain. Notwithstanding which, Bill, I can *safely* say that I never suffer'd the *least* depression of spirits, other than on account of not having heard from Ruthy, in one season, for near five months — for a *perswasion*, that my country *would eventually* prevail, kept up my spirits, and never suffer'd my *hopes* to *fail*.

Do tender my *best* regards to Colonel Miffling and Lady, and tell him that I have this day got the apples he was kind enough to order to be sent me. They have been laying for ten days past in a remote part of the town and I not made acquainted with it till last evening, whereby they are chiefly carried off, and most of the remaining ones rotten. Am much oblig'd to him, notwithstanding, as the state they are in by *no means* lessens the merit of the donor. Tell him farther that my wishes are answer'd. The brave Captain Manly has taken the Brig that contained that *cursed* villain, Crean Brush, with great part of the plunder he rob'd the stores of here, that I imagine she must be the richest vessell in the fleet. The brave General Warren is to be interr'd this afternoon with all the honors his *great* merit deserves, an oration is to be deliver'd at the Chaple. Last Tuesday week I had the honor of General Washington with his lady, General Gates, Mr. Custos and Lady, with Aid de Camps, &ca., to dine with me, with no earlier notice than half past eleven the same day. So good an opportunity as by Mr. Hammatt (who comes your way to fetch home Breck's

little daughter) I thought I would not omit, but I find I have been so prolix, that I believe you'll be tired before you'll half peruse it, must request you'd not let any body see it, as I wrote it in the greatest hurry, and with continual interruptions.*

* The following is a copy of Mr. Barrell's reply to this letter of April 11th, 1776, from Mr. Andrews. By its date, we can form an estimate of the time then consumed in travel between Boston and Philadelphia:—

“PHILADELPHIA, May the 1st, 1776.

“DEAR JACK,—Congratulations, sincere congratulations, my dear Lād, on the happy change of your situation. After twelve months separation from one's dearest connections and friends, shut up in a besieged town, garrisoned by one's worst enemies, disappointed, mortified, and exasperated with their disgraceful situation, suffering in addition to the natural distresses of a besieged, numerous and streightened garrison, the insulting taunts and merciless cruelties of enraged Tyrants, to have a free communication at once set open for the tender and indearing embraces of husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, and friends of every degree and denomination, must present a scene that beggars all description. The lordly tyrants of yesterday, confiding in their strong holds, spreading destruction and plunder through a distressed, defenceless city, this day quitting their dependances in haste and confusion, carrying with them the distresses of a long and severe seage to the still greater distresses of a boisterous voyage, while our friends are mounting their deserted ramparts, and bringing with them joy and peace, refreshment and plenty—such a change merits the highest congratulations, and demands the warmest returns of gratitude to the alone Author of Bliss and Peace. The complaining parts of your letter by Mr. Hamet is set to rights by a letter from Sam. dated six days after. The greatest allowances are to be made for your circumstances, and I believe so situated I should have acted with less prudence than you have done. Yet I think a more favorable cause might have been assigned why Ruthe was so long detained from you. I will not pretend to acquit or condemn Sam. in this matter, as I am ignorant of the cause, but this I must say, very weighty reasons alone can justify it; as you are convinced of his innocence, you are satisfied with the reasons, and consequently every disagreeable reflection has vanished. May your present happy union be no more interrupted, but your future days be crowned with such happy circumstances as to remind you of your past troubles but with pleasure. I am not much surprised at Wat's conduct. It seems passive obedience and non resistance are incompatible with honor, gratitude and justice. I applaud your conduct in sparing no cost to make yourself and dependants as comfortable as your situation could be made, and rejoice with you in the preservation of your health and spirits. Had your persuasions have been impressed on the minds of some others, it would have saved the just confusion that has overtaken many, and which I trust in God will be the fate of every enemy to his country. Colonel Mifflin being at New York, puts it out of my power to comply with your request respecting him at present. I am glad you were honored with the General's company, &c. Major Palfrey, who is promoted to the office of Paymaster General, and left this town yesterday, has given me an account of that visit. I wish Ruthe could have been with you to do the honors of your table on the occasion. My love to Ruthe, with a suitable remembrance to all friends, concludes, my dear Jack,

Your very affectionate friend and brother.”

The following extract from a letter of Mr. Barrell's to Hayley and Hopkins, London (March 25th, 1773), may possess some interest, as showing the character of his literary taste in the list of books he orders them to send him:—

“You will oblige me much by procuring the undermention'd books of the best

A proper acknowledgment was directed to be made for this valuable gift.

A parcel of original letters was presented by Mr. John F. Eliot of Boston, a son of one of the early members of the Society, and a nephew of another member.

The President made the following communication :—

It may not perhaps be forgotten, that, at the October meeting of last year, I mentioned, that, in reading the recent admirable biography of the great English patriot, Sir John Eliot, I had found an allusion to a paper on the subject of New-England Colonization, which had been discovered among the unpublished manuscripts from which that biography had been prepared, and which had been the subject of a correspondence between Eliot and the celebrated John Hampden. I mentioned, also, that the Earl of St. Germans, the lineal descendant of Eliot, had responded in the kindest manner to my application for a copy of this paper, with a view to its publication by this Society. A copy was accordingly prepared, under the supervision of John Forster, Esq., the accomplished author of the biography; and I have now the satisfaction of presenting it to the Society in the name of Lord St. Germans.

The Society, I am sure, will share in my surprise at finding that this paper, found among Sir John Eliot's manuscripts in

editions, a good Type, on good paper, neatly bound, gilt and letter'd, which you will please forward with my Fall Goods. . . .

A neat edition of Churchill's Works, small octavo.

A ditto of Stern's Works, Compleat, ditto.

A ditto of Roderick Random, ditto.

A ditto of Peregrine Pickle, ditto.

A ditto of Telemachus, ditto.

A ditto of Gil Blas, ditto.

A ditto of Mrs. Macaulay's History of England, large octavo.

A ditto of Hutchinson's History of New England, ditto.

A ditto of Johnson's Dictionary, 2 vols. letter'd, ditto.

A new ditto of the New Testament, not divided in chapters and verses, ditto, and five sets of the newest and most approved Novels, including the Vicker of Wakefield, and such like."

his own handwriting, has proved to be no other than the Considerations or Conclusions on the subject of colonizing Massachusetts which were printed many years ago by Governor Hutchinson in his Collection of Original Papers; and which have recently been published in a more extended form in the "Life and Letters of John Winthrop," with the reasons for ascribing their authorship to him. In this latter connection it was stated that copies of this paper were undoubtedly sent to leading friends of the New-England enterprise, for examination and approval; and the reply of Robert Ryece, the Suffolk antiquary, to Governor Winthrop, was given in evidence of this fact. The memorable letter of John Winthrop, jr., to his father, on the subject of these Conclusions, clearly implies, too, that they had been considered and approved by others. It would now seem that they must have been submitted to Sir John Eliot, among others; and that he prepared a copy of them with his own hand, while a prisoner in the Tower, to be transmitted to his illustrious friend Hampden. The very paper, of which this is a copy, is indorsed by Eliot, "The project for New England. ffor Mr. Hampden." And Mr. Forster has kindly sent us a fac-simile of an original letter from John Hampden, dated December 8 (1629), in which Hampden requests Eliot to have the paper sent to him. This was not many weeks after the date of the letter of John Winthrop, jr., to his father, which has just been referred to; and it is thus plainly proved that Hampden and Eliot must have been among those who entered into the counsels of our Massachusetts fathers, and perhaps among those "wise worthies of Israel" to whom the younger Winthrop referred.

We have now four independent copies of these Considerations and Conclusions: —

1. The copy printed by Hutchinson among the Higginson Papers.
2. The copy from Governor Winthrop's manuscripts, printed in the "Life and Letters of John Winthrop."

3. A copy which I obtained some years since from the State Paper Office in London, indorsed, "White of Dorchester, his instructions for the plantation of New England," and which I now present to this Society.

And, 4. The copy sent to us by the Earl of St. Germans, from the papers of Sir John Eliot.

They all differ more or less from each other, not only in spelling, but in substance. But all had evidently a common original; and the rough drafts found among Governor Winthrop's papers leave little room for doubt that the original was prepared by him. That the copy which was transcribed by Sir John Eliot came directly or indirectly from Winthrop, would seem to be put beyond a question by the fact that it includes the "Particular Consideraçons of J. W.," being Winthrop's private memorandum of the views which were applicable to himself personally. This copy, however, contains a preamble which has not been found among Winthrop's papers, and which may, perhaps, have come from Eliot's own hand.

Mr. Forster, whose opinion on such a point would everywhere be regarded as of the highest authority, does not hesitate to ascribe the principal authorship to Winthrop. In his first note to me on the subject, dated 18th December, 1865, he says:—

The time when Eliot and Hampden were conferring on the "Project for New England," thus exactly corresponds with the date of young Winthrop's letter to his father; and the "Conclusions"—which had been placed before him in August, 1629—formed, doubtless, part of the rough draft of the paper which Eliot sent in a more complete form to Hampden, in his own handwriting, in December, 1629. I can hardly doubt that whatever additions or amendments it may have received in transcription, as it passed from hand to hand, the substance of this (as of the other papers which constitute the various Reasons, Considerations, and Conclusions), had been derived in the first instance from Winthrop himself. At the same time it would hardly present itself

wholly in Sir John's handwriting, as it does, if he had not himself taken some part in its production as we now see it; and the tone of the communication between him and Hampden goes far to imply this. The questions raised by this curious discovery are indeed full of striking interest.

You will, of course, have observed that Eliot's paper contains, as portion of itself, both the "General Conclusions" and "Particular Considerations," which in the Winthrop Papers appear to exist in separate "Tractes;" and in the curious differences between the Italic headings at page 326 of your volume and the same headings in Eliot's paper — as well as in those passages where "motives" are dealt with, which are only in Eliot's copy — we may probably find ultimately some clue to further discovery. At present I can offer, as you see, little or no help; but I am not without hope of what a closer examination of the papers may bring. Were the matter even to end here, however, resting where it does, there is a new and striking interest contributed to a transaction which more largely than any other in history has affected the destinies of the human race.

In a subsequent note, dated 3d May, 1865, after a full examination, Mr. Forster says: —

Upon the question of the authorship of both the "Considerations" and "Conclusions," I am satisfied, after the most careful inquiry I have been able to give it, that the presumed authorship of both — whatever subsequent touches in way of amendment or addition either may have received from the Whites, Hampdens, Eliots, or Higginsons, with whom consultation was held — must be taken to rest with the Winthrops.

If this paper, so kindly furnished us by Lord St. Germans, and the one from the State Paper Office, shall now be printed in our volume of Proceedings, as I trust they will be, all four of the independent copies will have been published, and opportunity will be given for a careful comparison of them.

In the mean time, I would propose that the grateful acknowledgments of the Society be communicated to the Earl of St. Germans, and to our Corresponding Member, John Forster, Esq., for their kindness in transmitting to us the copy of this most interesting paper from the manuscripts of Sir John Eliot, which has so directly connected the coloniza-

tion of Massachusetts with two of the most illustrious names in the history of English liberty.

Voted, That the President be requested to communicate the thanks of the Society to the Earl of St. Germans, and to John Forster, Esq., for the valuable and interesting papers which have just been laid before the Society.

PAPERS OF SIR JOHN ELIOT.

[This manuscript is a literal transcript of a paper at Port Eliot in Sir John Eliot's handwriting, and endorsed by him "*The Project for New England. ffor Mr Hampden.*" It is the same to which reference is made in Mr. Forster's Biography of Eliot, ii. 532; and which, in the fac-simile of Hampden's letter to Eliot sent with it, is called "*ye paper of considerations concerning the Plantation.*" J. F.]

The grounds of settling a plantation in new England.

First, The ppagaçon of the gossell to the Indians. Wherein first the importance of the worke tendinge to the inlargment of the Kingdome of Jesus Christ & winning them out of the snare of the Divell & converting others of them by their meanes.

Secondly, The possibility of attaineing it, God haveinge by his word manifested his will for the spreadinge of the Gospell to all Nations, and intercourse of Trade haveinge opened a passage, & made a waie for comerce wth the East & West Indies and divers plātaçons of the Dutch & English being settled in sev'all parts of those countryes & the ill condiçons of the tymes being likely to furnish those plantaçons wth better members then usually have undertaken that worke in former tymes.

- Thirdly for motives {
1. The Consideraçon of our owne Condiçon like unto theires in tymes past.
 2. The advantages and benefitts wee may receive from those part^{ts} challengeinge the rendring of spirituall things for their Temporall.
 3. The Dilligence of the Papists in ppagatinge their Religion and supstiçon & enlarginge the kingdome of Antichrist thereby wth all the manifest hazards of their psons & depe engagem^{ts} of their estates.

2 Ground. Charitie to our neighbo^{rs} impoverished by decay of Trade and lefte destitute of hope of imployment in tyme to come, who may comfortably be sustayned by their labo^{rs} & endeavo^{rs} in this Country yeilding them sufficient matter of imployment & meanes of recompence, as, corne both of o^r kindes w^{ch} prosper well in those pa^{rs} & of the country w^{ch} is farr better for use then o^{rs} & maye be sett yearly after our graines are sowne, & consequently wthout hinderance of our ordinary course of husbandrie.

2^{dly} infinite varietie & store of { Fishes, Sturghion, Salmon, Mullett, Bas, Codd, Lobsters, Eeles.
Fowle, as, Turkie, Feasant, Partridg, Goose, Duck, Teal, and Deare, w^{ch} if the were p^rserved from the spoyle of Wolves (w^{ch} is not impossible would soone abound there more, then sheep in this Kingdome, the Does bringinge after the first 2 fawnes att a birth att least.

3^{dly} The possibility of Breedinge of Kine w^{ch} growe to a farr greater bulke of body in that country then wth us, in this Kingdome, secondly, of Goates w^{ch} may easily be Transported wth small charge. 3^{dly} Swine w^{ch} breed in great numb^{rs} by reason of the abundandance of Acornes growndnutts, 4^{ly} Wall-nutts, & clummes, 4^{ly} Trade of Fures which may be Brought out of that Continent to the valew of 30000^{li} p^a ann at least besides moose & Deare skinnes, feathers &c., 5^{ly} fishing a knowen & staple Commoditie. 6^{ly} possibilitie of makeinge Salt, the Country lieinge in equall height wth Biskie. 7^{ly} plantinge of vines.

8^{ly} makeinge pitch, Tarr, Pottashes & sope ashes.

9^{ly} Cuttinge of masts.

10^{ly} makinge of Iron, what other mines there are we know nott.

11^{ly} some woods fitt for dying, others for Phisicall uses, as, Sarzaperrilla Sassafras &c.

12. Silke grasse.

13. hemp & flax for w^{ch} the soyle is very fitt.

3 Ground. The Danger & extremities of the p^rsent estate of the Churches both in forraigne p^{rs} &c.

The meanes of effecting this worke.

First The Raysinge of a sufficient stocke to the valew of 10000^{li} by the adventurers of such voluntary p^{rs}ons as God shalbe pleased for the former weightie ends to move to the forwardinge of y^e worke wherewth

might be transported 200 Carpenters, Masons, Smithes, Coopers, Turners, Brickbunners, Potters, Husbandmen, Fowlers, Vingnerons, Salmakers fishermen and other laborers, 100 Kine & Bulls, 25 Horse & Mares. } by whose labours in 3 yeares space may be pvided at least for a thousand psons dwellings & meane of lively hood besides.

2 or 3000^{li} stocke will remaine of 10000^{li} for Trade.

Secondly The Free adventures of pticular psons of whom many willbe readie to ingage their psons and estates for furtheringe this designe.

Some generall conclusions showing that a pson imployed heer in publicke service may yett be transplanted for the ppagation of the Gospell in N. E.

1. It is granted by all that this intended plantaçon is a worke both lawfull & honorable.

2. It must be advancèd by psons guifted for such a worke.

3. Every one that is fitt hath nott a minde to the worke & noe bond of conscience cann ordinarilie be imposed uppon him that hath noe desire to itt.

4. The service of raysinge or upholdinge a pticular church is to be p^rferred before the Comfort of some pte of a Church alreadie established.

5. The memb^{rs} of that Church maie in tyme be of better use to their mother church heer, then those whome she shall kepe still in her owne bosome, When the woman in the Rev. 12 was psecuted by the Dragon, & forced to fle into the wildernes her sonne was taken upp into heaven (when it might seeme shee had greatest need of him) to be reserved there for future service.

6. The exercise of an office of lesse consequence for God & for his Church (whereinto any is put by ordinary calling) maie be lefte uppon the like call to some other office of greater consequence especially where there followes noe violaçon of the rule of righteousness & that the difference is such betweene the execution of an ordinary place of Magistrty in this land & the supportaçon of this plantation is easy to be determined.

7. It may be instanced in divers psons both magistrates and Minist^{rs} who (sometimes for private respects) have forsaken the place where the have been settled. to good use, & their changes aproved & blessed.

8. The takeing off a Scandall from a whole Church & Religion it self is to be p^rferred before the good of any pticular Church, it is a reproach to our Religion that when we professe an Intention of Convertinge those Indians we send nott p^rsons meett for such a worke but such only as wee cann well spare & most Cōmonly those that are a burden to our selves, while the Papists out of a false zeale to draw them to their supstiçon sticke not to imploy their most able and usefull instruments.

9. Our approved practise in matters of like Nature must be a rule in this, in all Forraigne expediçons wee imploy of our best statesmen & wee grudge not to want their service heer (though never soe usefull) while the are in such employ^mt for the good of the Churches.

Perticular Consideraçons in the case of J. W.

First It is com to that issue as the successe of the plantation depends upon his goeing for the chiefe supporters (upon whom the rest depends) will not stirr wthout him.

2^y His meanes heer are soe shortened (now 3. of his sonnes being com to age have drawen awaie the one half of his estate) as he shall not be able to continue in that place & employment where he now is, his ordinary charg being still as great almost as when his meanes was double.

3^{dly} He acknowledgeth a satisfactory callinge outward from some of the cheife of the plantaçon inward by the inclination of his owne hart to the worke & both approved by godly & juditious divines (whereof some have the most interest in him) & there is in this the like immediate call from the Kinge, as was to his former employment.

4^y If he lett pass this opportunitie, That talent w^{ch} God hath bestowed upon him for publicke service is like to be buried.

5. His wife & such of his Children as are at yeares and discretion are voluntarily disposed to the same course.

Reasons to be considered for Justifieinge the undertakers of the intended plantaçon in New England & for encouraging such whose harts God shall move to Joyne wth them in it.

First, It wilbe a service to the Church of great consequence to carry the Gospell into those p^ts of the world, to help on the cominge in of fulnesse of the Gentiles and to rayse a Bulworke against the kingdome of Antichrist, w^{ch} the Jesuites labour to rear up in those parts.

2. All other Churches of Europe are brought to desolaçon and o^r

sinnes for w^{ch} the lord beginns already to frowne uppō us, doe threaten us fearfully, & who knowes but that god hath provided this place to be a refuge for many whom he meanes to save out of the generall callamitie, and seeinge the Church hath no place lefte to flie into but the wilderness what better worke cann there be, then to goe before & provide Tabernacles, and food for her, against she cometh thither.

3. This land growes weary of her Inhabitants, soe as man whoe is y^e most pretious of all creatures is heer more vile & base then the Earth we Tread upon, & of lesse price among us, then a horse or a sheep, masters are forced by authoritie to entertaine servants, parents to maintaine their owne children, All Townes complaine of the burthen of their poore though we have taken up many unnessessary, yea unlawfull trades to maintaine them, And we use the authoritie of the law to hinder the increase of people as urging the execucon of the State against Cottages & Inmates & thus it is come to passe that Children, servants & neighbo^rs (especially if the be poore) are counted the greatest burthen w^{ch} if things were right it would be the cheifest earthly blessinge.

4. The whole earth is the lords Garden & he hath given it to the sonnes of men, wth a generall Condiçon, Gen: 1. 28. Increase & multiply, replenish the earth & subdue it, w^{ch} was againe renewed to Noah, the end is Double morall & naturall that man might enjoy the fruites of the earth & god might have his due glory from the creature, why then should we stand hear striveing for places of habitation, (many men spending as much labo^r & cost to recover or keep somtymes a Acre or two of land as would pcure them many hundred as good or better in an other country) and in ye mean tyme suffer a whole Continent, as fruitfull & convenient for the use of man to lie waste wthout any improvement.

5. We are growne to that height of intemperance in all excesse of riot, as noe mans estate almost will suffice to keep saile wth his equalls, & he who failes herein must live in scorne & contempt, hence it comes that all arts & trades are carried in that deceitfull & unrighteous course, as it is almost impossible for a good & upright man to maintaine his charge and live comfortably in any of them.

6. The fountaines of learning & religion are soe corrupted (as beside the unsupportable charge of the educacon) most Children (even the best witts & fairest hopes) are pverted corrupted and utterly overthrowen, by the multitude of evill examples and the licentious gov^mt of those Seminaries, where men straine at Gnats, & swallow Camells, use all

severity for maintenance of cappes, & other accomplements but suffer all Ruffian-like fashion & disorder in manners to passe uncontrowled.

7. What canne be a better worke & more hono^{rb^{le}} & worthy a Christian then to help rayse & support a pticular church while it is in the infancy, & to Joyne his forces wth such a company of faithfull people as by a tymely assistance may growe stronge and prosper, and for want of it may be put to great hazard, if not wholly ruined.

8. If any such whoe are knowen to be godly, & live in wealth and prosperity here shall forsake all this to joyne themselves to this church & to runn a hazard wth them of a hard & meane condiçon it wilbe an examplę of great use both for removeing the scandall of wordly & sinister respects w^{ch} is cast uppon the adventurers to give more life to the faith of Gods people in their prayers for the plantaçon & to encourage other to joyne the more willingly in it.

9. It appeares to be a worke of god, for the good of his church in that he hath disposed the harts of soe many of his wise & faithfull servants (both ministers & others) not only to approve of the enterprise but to interest themselves in it, som in their psons & estates, others by their serious advise & helpe otherwise: And all by their prayers for the welfare of it, Amos 3. The lord revealeth his Secretts to his servants the Prophets, it is likely he hath some great worke in hand w^{ch} he hath revealed to his prophets among us, whom he hath stirred upp to encourage his servants to this plantation for he doth not use to seduce his people by his owne Prophets, but cōmitts that office to the ministry of false prophets and lyinge spirits.

Divers objections w^{ch} have been made against this plantaçon wth their answeares and resoluçons.

Ob: 1: We have noe warrant to enter uppon that land w^{ch} hath been soe long possessed by others.

Answ: 1: That w^{ch} lies cōmon & hath never been replenished or subdued is free to any that will possesse and improve it, for god hath given to the sonnes of men a double right to the earth, there is a naturall right & a Civill right the first right was naturall when men held the earth in common every man soweing, and feeding where he pleased: and then as men and the cattle increased they appropriated certaine pcells of ground by enclosing, and peculier manurance, and this in tyme gave them a Civill right, such was the right w^{ch} Ephron the Hittite had in the feild of Mackpelah wherein Abraham could not bury a dead corps w^{thout} leave, though for the out parts of the Country w^{ch} lay com-

mon he dwelt upon them, & tooke the fruit of them att his pleasure, the like did Jacob w^{ch} fedd his cattle as bold in Hamors land (for he is sayd to be the lord of the Country) and other places where he came as y^e native inhabitants themselves & that in those times & places men accompted nothing their owne but that w^{ch} they had appropriated by their owne industry, appeares plainly by this that Abimelecks servants in their owne Country when they oft contended wth Isaacks servants about wells w^{ch} they hadd digged yett never strove for the land wherein they were, Soe likewise between Jacob & Laban he would not take a kidd of Labans wthout his speciall contract, but he makes noe bargaine wth him for the land where they feed, and it is very pbable if the countrey had not been as free for Jacob as for Laban, that covetous wretch would have made his advantage of it, & have upbrayded Jacob wth it, as he did wth his cattle, And for the Natives in New England they inclose noe land neither have any settled habitation nor any tame cattle to improve the land by, & soe have noe other but a naturall right to those countries Soe as if wee leave them sufficient for their use wee may lawfully take the rest, there being more then enough for them & us.

2^{dly} We shall come in wth the good leave of the Natives, who finde benefitt already by our neighbourhood & learne of us to improve pt to more use, then before they could doe the whole, & by this meanes wee come in by valuable purchase: for they hav of us that w^{ch} will yeild them more benefitt then all the land w^{ch} wee have from them.

3^{dly} God hath consumed the Natives wth a great plague in those pts soe as there be few in-habitants left.

Objec. 2. It wilbe a great wrong to our church to take awaie the good people & we shall lay it the more open to the judgment feared.

Ans. 1. The departinge of good people from a country doth not cause a judgment but foreshew it, w^{ch} maie occasion such as remaine to turne from their evill waies that they may prevent it, or to take some other course that they may escape it.

2^{dly} Such as goe away are of noe observation in respects of those whoe remaine & they are likely to doe more good there then heer, & since Christ's tyme the church is to be considered as universall wthout distinction of countries, soe as he who doeth good in any once place, serves the church in all places in regard of the unitie.

3^{dly} It is the revealed will of god that the gospell should be preached to all nations, and though we know not whether those Barbarians will receive it at first or not, yett it is a good worke to serve

gods pvidence in offering it to them, & this is fittest to be done by gods owne servants for god shall have glory by it, though they refuse it, & there is good hope that the posterity shall by this meanes be gathered into Christ's Sheepfold.

Ob: 3. We have feared a judgment a great while, but yett wee are safe it were better therefor to stay till it come, & either wee may flie then or if we be overtaken in it, we may well content our selves to suffer wth such a church as ours is.

Ans: It is likely this consideraçon made the churches beyond the seas, as, the Palatinate, Rochell &c. to sitt still at home & not to looke out for shelter while they might have found it, but the woefull spectacle of their ruine, may teach us more wisdom, to avoyd the plage when it is foreseen, & not to tarry as they did till it overtake us, if they were now at their former liberty, we might be sure they would take other courses for their saftie & though half of them had miscarried in their escape, yett hadd it not be soe miserable to themselves nor scandalous to religion as this desperate bakeslidinge, & abjuringe the truth, w^{ch} many of the Antient pfesso^{rs} among them, & the whole posteritie w^{ch} remaine, are now plaçged into.

Ob: 4. The ill successe of other plantaçons may tell us what wilbecome of this.

Ans: 1. None of the former susteyned any great damage, but Virginia which happened through their owne sloth & securitie.

2. The argum^t is not good, for thus it stands, some plantaçons have miscarried therefore we should not make any, it consists in pticulars & soe concludes nothinge, we might as well reason thus, many houses have been burnt by Kilnes, therefore we should use none, many shippes have been cast away, therefore we should content our selves wth our home commodities, & not adventure mens lives at Sea for those things w^{ch} wee might live wthout, some men have been undone by being advanced to great places therefore we should refuse our p^rferment, &c.

3. The fruite of any publicke designe is not to be discerned by the imediate successe, it may appear in tyme that former plantaçons were all to good use.

4. There were great and fundamentall errors in the former w^{ch} are like to be avoyded in this, for first their maine end was Carnall & not Religious, secondly they used unfitt instruments a multitude of rude & misgovⁿed p^{rs}ons, the very scumme of the people, thirdly they did not establish a right forme of government.

Ob: 5. It is attended wth many & great difficulties.

Ans. : Soe is every good accon, the heathen could say Ardua virtutis via. And they way of gods kingdome (The best way in the world) is accompanied wth most difficulties, Straight is the gate & narrow is the way that leadeth to life, againe the difficulties are noe other then such as many dayly meet wth and such as god hath brought others well through them.

Ob. : 6. It is a work above the power of the undertakers.

Ans. : 1. The welfare of any body consists not soe much in quantity as in due pportion & disposi^{con} of p^{tes} & wee see other planta^{cons} have subsisted divers years & prospered from weake meanes.

2. It is noe wonder for great things may arise from weake contemptible beginnings, it hath been oft seen in kingdomes & states & may as well hold in towns & planta^{cons}. The Waldenses were scartered into the Alpes & mountaines of Piedmont, by small companies, but they became famous churches whereof some remaine to this day & it is certaine that the Turkes, Venetians & other states were very weake in there beginninge.

Ob. : 7. The country affords noe naturall fortifications.

Ans. : Noe more did Holland & many other places w^{ch} had greater enemies & nearer at hand & God doth use to place his people in the midst of perills that they may trust in him and not in outward means & saftie, soe when he would chuse a place to plant his beloved people in he seateth them not in an Ileland or other place fortified by nature, but in a plaine country besett wth potent and bitter enemies round about, yett soe long as they served him & trusted in his help they were safe. Soe the Apostle Paule saith of him self & his fellow labourers that they were compassed wth dangers one every side, & were daily under the sentence of death that they might learne to trust in the liveinge God.

Ob. : 8. The place affordeth noe comfortable meanes to the first planto^{rs} & our breedinge heer at home have made us unfitt for the hardshipp we are like to indure.

Ans. : 1. Noe place of it self hath afforded sufficient to the first inhabitants, such things as we stand in need of are usually supplied by gods blessing uppon the wisdom & industrie of man & what soever wee stand in need of is treasured in the earth, by the Creato^r & is to be fetched thence by the sweat of o^r Browes.

2. Wee must learne wth Paule to want, as well as to abound, if we have food & raiment (w^{ch} are there to be had) we ought to be con-

tented, the difference in the quality may a litle displease us but it cannot hurt us.

3. It may be by this meanes God will bringe us to repent of our former intemperance, & soe cure us of that disease, w^{ch} sends many amongst us untimelie to their graves and others to hell, soe he carried the Israelits into the wildernesse & made them forgett the flesh potts of Egypt, w^{ch} was sorie pinch to them att first but he disposed to their good in th'end. Deutron. 30. 3. 16.

Ob: 9. We must looke to be p^rserved by miracle if we subsist & soe we shall tempt God.

*Ans*w: 1. They who walke under ordinarie meanes of saftie & supplie doe not tempt God, but such will be our condiçon in this plantaçon therefore &c.: The pposiçon cannot be denied, the assumption we prove thus, that place is as much secur'd from ordinary dangers, as many hundred places in the civill p^ts of the world, & we shall have as-much pvision before hand, as such townes doe use to pvide ag^t a seige or dearth, & sufficient meanes for raysinge a succeeding store against that is spent, if it be denied that wee shalbe as secure as other places, we answear that many of o^r sea Townes, & such as are upon the confines of enemies countries in the continent, lye more upon & neerest to danger then we shall, & though such townes have somtymes been burnt or spoyled, yett men tempt not God to dwell still in them, & though many houses in the country amongst us lye open to theeves & robbers (as many have found by sadd experience) yett noe man will say that those w^{ch} dwell in such places must be p^rserved by miracle.

2. Though miracles be now ceased, yett men may expect more then ordinary blessinge from god uppon all lawfull meanes, where the worke is the lords, & he is sought in it accordinge to his will, for it is usuall wth him to increase or weaken the strength of the meanes as he is pleased or displeased wth the instrum^ts & the action, else we must conclude that god hath left the gov^mt of the world, & comitted all power to the creature, that the successe of all things should wholly depend upon the second causes.

3. Wee appeale to the judgment of the Souldiers if 500 men may not in on moneth rayse a fortificaçon, w^{ch} wth sufficient munition & victuall they may make good against 3000 for many monethes, & yett wthout miracle.

4. We demand an instance if any Prince or state hath raised 3000 souldiers & victualled for 6 or 8 monethes wth shipping & munition answeareable to invade a place soe farr distant as this is from any for-

Noble Sr

I hope this letter is conveyed to you by so
safe a hand y^e y^{rs} will be y^e first y^t shall open it. or
if not, yet since you may as much as without a contradicti-
on you may y^e liberty of a prison it shall be no offence
to wish you may make y^e best use on^t y^t God may
find you as much his whole now you may y^e benefit of
secondary helps as you find found him^e y^{rs} while by
deprivation of all others you were cast upon his
immediate support. This is all I have or am
willing to say, but y^t y^e paper of considerations
concerning y^e plantation might be very safely
conveyed to me by this hand & after transcribing
should be as safely returned if you vouchsafe to find
it y^e me. I beseech you present my service to
M^r Vakerhine M^r Long my countryman if with
you. & let me be honored wth y^e shik of

yo^r faithfull friend
o servant.

J. S. Lempson.

Hampden.
December 8th.

raigne enemy & where they must runn a hazard of repulse & noe bootie or just title of Sov'aignty to allure them.

Ob: 10. If it succeed ill, it will raise a scandall uppon o^r p^{ro}fession.

Ans^{er}: It is noe Rule in Philosophy (much lesse in Divinitie) to judg the ac^{ti}on by the successe, the enterprise of the Israelits against Benjamin succeeded ill twice, yett the ac^{ti}on was good & p^{ro}spered in the end. The Earle of Begiers in France & the Earle of Tholouse mis-carried in the defence of a just cause of Religion & their hereditary right, against the unjust violence of y^e Earle Montford & the Popes Legate, the Duke of Saxony & the Lantgrave had ill successe of the Gospell against Charles the 5. wherein the Duke & his children lost their whole inheritance to this day. The King of Denmarke & other princes of the union had ill successe in the defence of the Pallattinate & the lib^{er}tie of Germany yett the p^{ro}fession suffered not wth their p^{er}sons, except it were wth the adversaries of Religion, & soe it was noe Scandall given.

The following is the letter of John Hampden to Sir John Eliot, referred to by the President:—

John Hampden to Sir John Eliot.

NOBLE S^{IR}. I hope this letter is conveyed to you by so safe a hand y^t yo^{ur} will be y^e first y^t shall open it, or if not, yet since you inioy as much as without a contradiction you may y^e liberty of a prison it shall be no offence to wish you may make y^e best vse on't. y^t God may find you as much his now you inioy y^e benefitt of secondary helpes as you found hime yo^{ur} while by deprivation of all others you were cast vpon his immediate support. This is all I have or ame willing to say, but y^t y^e paper of considerations concerning y^e plantation might be very safely conveyed to mee by this hand & after transcribing should be as safely returned if you vouchsafe to send it mee. I beseech you present my service to M^r Valentine M^r Long my countryman if with you. & lett mee be honored wth y^e stile of

yo^r faithful friend
& servant.

Hampden,

JO: HAMPDEN.

Decemb^r 8th [1629].

The following is the paper obtained from the State Paper Office, by the President, and alluded to by him

as bearing the indorsement, "White of Dorchester, his instructions for the plantation of New England:" —

S. P. O. (COLONIAL) VOL. VI. No. 64.

General observations for the plantation of New England.

1st It wilbe a service to the church of great consequens by carringe the gospell into those parts to raise a bulworke against the Kingdom of antichrist w^{ch} the Jesuits labour to rere in all p^{ts} of the world :

2^d All other churches of Europe beinge brought to desolation it cannot be but that the like judgment is cumminge upon us & who knoweth but that God hth prepared this place for a refuge for many whome he meaneth to save in the general distruction :

3^d The land groneth under her inhabitants soe that man the best of creatures is held more base then the earth they tread on

4th We are growen to that hight of intemperancy as no mans estate will suffice him to keepe sayle with his equall & he that doeth not must live in contempt. Hence trades are carried so deceiptfully & unrightusly as it is almost impossible for a good upright man to mayntayne his charge & to live comfortably in his profession.

5th The fountaynes of learninge & religion are soe corrupted as besides the unsupportable charge many chyl dren of best witts & fayrest hops are perverted corrupted & utterly overthrowne by the multitude of evill examples & the licentious government of those seminaries :

6th The earth is the Lords garden & he hath given it to the sonns of men to be tyllid & improved why then should we stand strivinge here for places of habitation many men spending as much labour & cost to recover & keepe somtymes an acre or tow of land w^{ch} would procure many acres of as good or better in an other place & in the meane tyme they suffer whole cuntryes usefull & convenient for the use of man to lye waste without inhabitant.

7th What can be a better or more honorable worke then to helpe rayse & support a particular church, whyle it is in the budd & infancy to joyne our forces with such a company of faithfull people as by a tymly assistance may growe stronge & prosper & for want of it may be put to great hazard if not ruined.

8th If such as are knowen to be godly & live in wealth heare shall forsake all this to joyne themselves with this church & to runne their hazard it wilbe an example of great use boeth for the removinge of the scandall of worldly & sinister respects to give more lyfe to the

faith of godly people in their prayers for the plantation & alsoe to encourage others to joine the more willingly in it.

Ob: It wilbe a greate wronge to our owne country & church to take away the godly people & we shall lay it the more open to the judgements feared: | fol: | It will be nothings in respect of those that shalbe lefte & many that live in noe use heare more then for their owne private famylys may be employed to a more coem^m* good in another place: 3^o by such as are of noe use heare to be soe employed as the church shall receave noe lyffe. 4^o the church since christs tyme is to be considered as universall without respect of countryes: Soe as he that doeth good in any place doeth serve the church in all places. 5^o It is the revealed will of God that the gospell should be preached in all places & nations & therefore we knowe not whether the Indians will receave it, yet it is a good worke to observe Gods will in offeringe it for God shall have glory if they refuse:

Ob: We have feared a judgement a longe tyme but yet we are saffe: it were better to stay till it come & either we may fly then or if we be overtaken we may content ourselves to suffer with such a church as this: | fol: | It is likely that this consideration made the church beyonde the seas viz: the Palatinate. Rochell† to sit still & not labour for shelter whyle they might: but the wofull spectacle of their ruine may teach us wysdome to avoyd the plaige whyle it is forsenne & not to tarry as they did till it overtake us: If they were now in their former liberty we may be sure they would take other course for their safty although most of them had miscarried in their escape yet that had not been halfe soe miserable to themselves & scandalous to religion as their desperate backslydinge & abjuring the truth w^{ch} many of their auncient professors amongst them & their whole posterity that remayne are plunged into

Ob: We have here a plenty full land of all thinges with peace: | fol: | yet we must leave all this abundance if it be taken from us: | 2^o when we be in our graves it wilbe all one to have livd in plenty or poverty or whether we had died in a bed of downe or one a locke of straw only this is the advantage of a meane condition that it is at more freedome to dye, the lesse comfort any have in the things of this world the more liberty & desire he may have to lay upp treasure in heaven:

Ob. But we may perrish in the way or when we come there hunger

* Common.

† It should be, the "Palitinate and Rochell."

or the sword there: | how uncomfortable would it be to see our wyfes chyl dren & frends come to such mysery by our occasion. Such objections savour to much of the flesh who can free hymselfe or his frends from the like calamyties heare: if this course be warrantable we must trust gods providence for those thinges either he will keepe those evils from us: or will dispose them for our good & in able us to beare them:

Ob. But what warrant have we to take the land w^{ch} is & hath bin soe longe tyme possessed by other sonnes of Adam: | fol:| that w^{ch} is coem̄: to all is proper to none, these savage people ramble over much land without title or property. 2^o there is more then enough for them & us: 3^o God hath consumed these nations in a myraculouse plauge wherby a great part of their country is left voyd without inhabitants: we shall com in with good leave of these nations:

Ob. But we should yet send yonge ones & such as can be best spared & not of our best number & magistrates | fol: it is a great worke & therefore requyres skylfull artificers to lay the foundation of a new buyldinge then to uphold & maynteyne it alreddy buylt: If great thinges be attempted by weake instruments the effects wilbe annswearable:

Ob: we see that plantations that have bin formerly made succeed ill: | fol: the fruit of any probable designe is not to be deceived by the immediate successe it may appeare in tyme that they were to good use. 2^o ther were great & fundamentall errors in the other we^h are likely to be avoyded in this for first their mayne end we^h was proposed was carnal & not religieuse they aymed cheefly at profitt & not the propagation of religion: secondly they used unfitt instruments viz: a multitude of rude & misgoverned persons the very scumme of the land: 3^o they did not establysh a right forme of government.

[Endorsed in the same handwriting as the paper.]

White of Dorchester
his instructions for the
plantation of New
England.

ERRATA.

- | | | | |
|------|----------|---------|--|
| Page | 31, line | 10, for | “doctrine” read “doctorate.” |
| ” | 89, ” | 19, for | “MDCCLXXXV” read “MDCCLXXXV.” |
| ” | 139, ” | 5, for | “Pfote” read “Pforte.” |
| ” | 202, ” | 24, for | “y ⁿ ” read “y ⁿ .” |
| ” | 253, ” | 3, for | “Oberlausitzischen” read “Oberlausitzische.” |
| ” | 254, ” | 7, for | “C. F. Duncklee” read “C. T. Duncklee.” |

FERRATA IN THE "ANDREWS LETTERS."

At the time the "Andrews Letters," printed in this volume, were passing through the press, the principal part of the original manuscripts from which the transcript for the printer was made, and which had been retained by the editor of the letters, in New York, for comparison with the proof-sheets, were unfortunately lost or mislaid; so that the main reliance in reading the proofs was upon the "copy." Since the printing of the letters, the missing originals have been recovered, and are now in the Library of the Society. They have been carefully compared with the printed sheets, and the following "errata" are all that have been detected which in any way affect the sense. A few of the errors probably resulted from a misreading of the copy.

- | | |
|--|---|
| Page 322, line 12, for "own" read "old." | Page 339, line 5, for "Starlin" read "Star- |
| " 323, " 27, for "off" read "of." | tin." |
| " 324, " 27, for "Mr. Williams" read | " 340, " 14, for "guns" read "gun." |
| " Doct ^r Williams." | " 343, " 7, fill the blank with "Boseng ^r ." |
| " 325, " 3, for "take" read "send." | " 344, " 19, insert "up money" after |
| " 328, " 24, for "for" read "or." | " " " "take." |
| " 329, " 31, for "in" read "i. e." | " " " 34, for "carriers" read "car- |
| " 330, " 4, for "transport" read "tran- | men." |
| " " " 14, for "masters" read "coast- | " 345, " 16, for "on" read "in." |
| ers." | " " " 19, for "press'd" read "pre- |
| " " " 19, for "Charles river" read | fer'd." |
| " Charles town." | " " " 34, insert "applon of" after |
| " 331, " 9, insert "as" after "are." | " " " "without." |
| " 332, " 21, for "two" read "four." | " " " 39, insert "after" between |
| " " " 29, for "Girdley" read "Grid- | "day" and "he." |
| ley." | " 346, " 34, insert a parenthesis after |
| " 333, " 1, for "Slyde" read "Llyde." | "line." |
| " " " 17, for "military" read "high- | " 348, " 14, for "Mr. Molineaux" read |
| way." | " Wm Molineaux." |
| " 334, " 30, for "wounds" read "wound." | " 349, " 7, for "have" read "bare" |
| " 336, " 3, for "carriers" read "car- | ["bear."] |
| men." | " " " 16, for "member" read "num- |
| | ber." |

Page 351, line 26, for "Mr Hutchinson" read
 "Thos Hutchinson."
 ,, 352, ,, 20, for "Mr. Breck" read "Mrs.
 Breck."
 ,, 353, ,, 26, for "last" read "but."
 ,, 355, ,, 40, for "affect" read "effect."
 ,, 356, ,, 27, for "the" read "six."
 ,, 358, ,, 5, for "four" read "four &
 twenty."
 ,, ,, 15, for "Commissioner" read
 "Crown officer."
 ,, 360, ,, 10, insert "guns" after "more."
 ,, 361, ,, 36, for "diversions" read "di-
 version."
 ,, 362, ,, 16, for "Old house" read "Old
 gun house."
 ,, 366, ,, 36, for "improve" read "im-
 pose."
 ,, 367, ,, 1, insert "for them" after
 "chargeable."
 ,, 368, ,, 3, insert "vote" after "which."
 ,, 369, ,, 4, *dele* "got."
 ,, ,, 7, for "could" read "would."
 ,, ,, 11, insert "to" after "not."
 ,, ,, 19, for "carriers" read "car-
 men."
 ,, 370, ,, 3, for "store" read "stow."
 ,, ,, 40, for "her" read "his."
 ,, 371, ,, 22, insert "among" after
 "money."
 ,, 372, ,, 25, for "would" read "need."
 ,, 375, ,, 15, for "New York" read
 "York."
 ,, ,, 29, *dele* "at Salem."
 ,, 378, ,, 7, for "bullets" read "buck-
 shot."
 ,, 379, ,, 14, for "now" read "necessarily."
 ,, 381, ,, 12, for "removing" read "his
 refusing to remove."
 ,, ,, 21, for "28th" read "38th."
 ,, ,, 24, for "Cruizing" read "bruiz-
 ing."
 ,, ,, 27, for "Battle street" read
 "tattle street." [A nickname
 for Sudbury Street.]

Page 381, line 37, for "Sunday" read "Tues-
 day."
 ,, 383, ,, 23, insert "a barrel" before "for
 Cyder."
 ,, ,, 23, insert "with" before "53
 shillings."
 ,, ,, 24, insert "per cwt." after "60
 shillings."
 ,, ,, 24, insert "per lb." after "13d."
 ,, 384, ,, 3, for "soisability" read "so-
 ciability."
 ,, ,, 19, insert "are at" before
 "work."
 ,, ,, 32, for "a" read "the."
 ,, 385, ,, 31, insert "the" after "end
 of."
 ,, 387, ,, 9, for "your" read "his."
 ,, ,, 23, *dele* "been."
 ,, 388, ,, 32, for "up" read "upon."
 ,, 392, ,, 6, for "Night" read "Knight."
 ,, 393, ,, 30, for "This" read "Thus."
 ,, ,, 33, insert "rainy" after
 "stormy."
 ,, 398, ,, 11, for "other" read "others."
 ,, 401, ,, 18, *dele* "in."
 ,, ,, 27, for "street" read "streets."
 ,, 402, ,, 39, for "lessoning" read "lessen-
 ing."
 ,, 403, ,, 11, for "one" read "a."
 ,, ,, 35, for "compliment" read
 "compliments."
 ,, 404, ,, 4, for "a" read "the."
 ,, ,, 13, insert "the 38th" after "the
 47th."
 ,, ,, 28, insert "the" before "best."
 ,, ,, 31, for "allow'd" read "allow-
 ing."
 ,, 405, ,, 5, 6, *dele* "[any more]."
 ,, ,, 19, for "where" read "when."
 ,, 406, ,, 24, for "papers" read "passes."
 ,, ,, 33, for "papers" read "passes."
 ,, 407, ,, 17, for "here" read "her."
 ,, 408, ,, 19, insert "about" after "only."
 ,, ,, 33, insert "1776" after "April
 11th."